FBIS
DAILY REPORT

MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA REVIEW

12 NOVEMBER 1980

American Hostages

AFP reported that Algerian Ambassador Abdelkarim Ghraieb handed Prime Minister Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i the U.S. reply to Iran's conditions for the release of the hostages. Monitored Tehran media have not been heard to mention this exchange. Algiers radio reported the arrival of Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher in Algiers with a message to be passed through Algeria to Iran containing the U.S. reply to the conditions set for the release of the hostages. In its only mention of the delegation's arrival, Tehran radio's Arabic service noted that Deputy Secretary Christopher had met with Algerian Foreign Minister Mohamed Ben Yahia and explained the legal, judicial and other complications in trying to meet Iran's conditions. The radio said the U.S. reply was to be conveyed shortly to the Iranian Government.

President Abdolhasan Bani-Sadr, in an interview reported by Tehran radio, said that if the hostage issue could be solved "within a week" then Iran "could utilize the possibilities that exist abroad and perfect our equipment." However, he noted, if the stalemate continues, the release will not have much effect.

In an interview with a Tehran radio correspondent, Majlis Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani said Iran does not want a U.S. reply to the Majlis terms but instead wants the United States to "meet our conditions as we have demanded." Rafsanjani also discussed the impending U.S. reply at his weekly press conference, reported by Tehran radio's Arabic service. He noted that "unless we get our rights, we shall try the hostages as spies."

Tehran radio reported a meeting between the Swiss ambassador and Rafsanjani at which the envoy gave the Majlis speaker a message from the U.S. Government stating that President-elect Ronald Reagan supports President Jimmy Carter's efforts to free the hostages. In his reply, Rafsanjani again said the Majlis had specified Iran's demands and it made no difference whether it was Carter or Reagan who responded to them.

Supreme Court President Mohammed Beheshti, in a statement reported by AFP, said that if U.S. law hinders the United States from meeting one of the four conditions set by the Majlis, the Majlis should decide if it is legally possible to fulfill the conditions. Beheshti went on to say that if the Majlis decides its conditions have not been fulfilled and the hostages should be put on trial, the "judicial branch will start preparing the trial."

Iranian Domestic Affairs

Qotbzadeh Release--Former Iranian Foreign Minister Sadeq Qotbzadeh, jailed on 7 November for remarks made during a television interview, was released on 10 November on orders from Ayatollah Khomeyni. AFP, citing sources close to Qotbzadeh, said he had been released after a visit from Ahmad Khomeyni, the ayatollah's son. Qotbzadeh's release was briefly noted by Tehran radio, which quoted him in an interview with Voice and Vision, Iran's radio and television network, as saying that at this critical time all Iranians must follow the wishes of Ayatollah Khomeyni. Qotbzadeh said he would talk about other issues at a later date.

Ayatollah Khomeyni met with officials of the Publicity Staff of the Supreme Defense Council, to discuss the media's treatment of the war, Tehran radio reported 12 November, and also received Qotbzadeh. The radio said Khomeyni issued "the necessary instructions" to Qotbzadeh regarding the current situation.

In an interview with Tehran radio, 'Ali Qoddusi, the Tehran prosecutor general who had ordered Qotbzadeh's arrest, defended his action as being in line with Ayatollah Khomeyni's order to arrest "rumormongers." He said Qotbzadeh had admitted to him that he had made a mistake and wondered whether such people should receive special judicial consideration.

Majlis Debate--Tehran radio reported that the Majlis continued its debate on the operation of the Voice and Vision, approving articles on its general policy and principles and appointing a managing director. AFP reported that Speaker Rafsanjani intends to have the Majlis consider a bill aimed at forestalling future disagreements between the president and the prime minister on the choice of ministers. Prime Minister Raja'i had earlier proposed six candidates for foreign minister, but President Bani-Sadr had vetoed all of them.

In a series of announcements, Tehran radio reported that Iran's economic mobilization headquarters had set up a rationing system for commodities and gasoline so as to ensure fair distribution. The headquarters statements said that from now on ration coupons would be necessary to make purchases. In addition, the economic mobilization headquarters steeply raised the price of gasoline. Shiraz radio also reported the implementation of a fuel allocation system in its surrounding area.

Iran-Iraq Conflict

UN Mediation Offer--'Ali Khamene'i, spokesman for the Supreme Defense Council, said Iran has no objection to a visit by a representative of the UN secretary general to Iran to study the war situation and see the "results of Iraq's aggression on Iran." Khamene'i's remarks, reported by Tehran radio, came at the end of a meeting of the Supreme Defense Council that had considered UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim's suggestion in this regard. Stockholm radio later reported that Olaf Palme, former Swedish prime minister, has been chosen to lead the UN mediation effort. Khamene'i also said the Supreme Defense Council discussed a five-point proposal presented by Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca when he was in Tehran, but because of "ambiguities" in the proposals, it had requested certain clarifications.

Military Situation--Tehran radio reported continued fighting southwest of Ahvaz and heavy Iraqi shelling of the city. In further reports the radio claimed Iranian airborne forces, with air force support, had struck across the Bahmanshir River and attacked Iraqi forces dug in on the Abadan-Mahshahr road. In fighting around Abadan, the radio admitted the refinery and tank farm has been on fire for the past 2 days. It also said Iraqi artillery heavily shelled the city. An armed forces communique, carried by Tehran radio, claimed Iranian forces destroyed a number of Iraqi tanks and inflicted heavy casualties on the Susangerd front, along the Subleh-Bostan axis as well as around Dezful.

Iraq

'Aziz Visit to Moscow--Baghdad radio reported Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz held discussions in Moscow on 11 November with CPSU Politburo candidate member Boris Ponomarev and Central Committee member Viktor Maltsev.

Saddam Husayn Press Conference--President Saddam Husayn, in a press conference reported by INA, said he is "satisfied with our calculations" in the war with Iran and asserted that Iraq is prepared to continue fighting "as long as it might take" to settle all issues with Iran through the recognition of Iraqi rights and the return of the three disputed islands in the Gulf to their "legitimate owner," the UAE. The president went on to say that if the three islands continue to be held by Iran "the world must expect a new war" by the Arabs against Iran. Referring to Iranian territory under Iraqi control, Saddam Husayn said that as long as Iraq fights on this territory it "is considered a part of our necessary defense arrangements to ensure security" which might be added to or subtracted from. The president declared that prolongation of the war entails "additional rights" under "world norms." Asked how far he intends to push Iraqi forces into Iran, Saddam Husayn said Iraq would use "any additional degree of arm twisting we deem necessary in

in order to forcibly obtain our rights." Regarding Iraq's nuclear program, the president said that Iraq would respect international agreements on nuclear nonproliferation and that even if reactors had been "completely or partly destroyed," those who had acquired them were capable of "acquiring even better ones." Saddam Husayn admitted Iraqi oil production has ceased but asserted that oil pumping will be resumed as soon as "technical arrangements" have been completed.

Autonomy Talks

Jerusalem radio announced that tripartite autonomy talks on the expert level will resume in Cairo on 17 November. The radio went on to say that Israeli representative Hayim Kubersky denied rumors that U.S. representative James Leonard had presented views close to those of Egypt. The Jerusalem announcement followed on an earlier report by MENA that Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Dr Butrus Ghali proposed the postponement of the talks until early December. However, Cairo radio reported the 17 November date had been confirmed by Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali.

Egypt

As-Sadat Speeches--In a 10 November speech to the Arab and Islamic Peoples League carried by Cairo radio, President Anwar as-Sadat expressed support for "Afghan strugglers," whom, he said, Egypt backs "militarily, materially and politically." Referring to Libya, Syria and South Yemen as "Soviet satellites" that had launched "ferocious wars" against their peoples, As-Sadat went on to announce his readiness to assist any Arab or Islamic state that "faces aggression." Describing attempts at Arab political unity as "empty slogans," the president called on the league to mobilize Muslims into an "integrated national Islamic-Arab group" and called for the establishment of an Islamic-Arab bank.

In a speech to teachers reported by Cairo radio on 11 November, As-Sadat announced he will be taking a vacation to recover from "exhaustion." The president also mentioned he will open "a completely new" Suez Canal in December.

Yemen

According to the West German press agency DPA, reports from Aden "indicate" that fighting has begun in the southern provinces of the YAR between regular forces and militia of the opposition North Yemen National Democratic Front.

Libya

Mengistu Visit--Tripoli radio announced that Ethiopian leader Lt Col Mengistu Haile Mariam arrived in Tripoli for official talks. In a press statement carried by JANA, Mengistu and Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi announced agreement to "consolidate their efforts against the American imperialist offensive ... and the designs of Zionism and reaction."

Internal Affairs--According to Tripoli radio, a "fifth column" consisting of "thousands of women" has been storming markets and stores "in a desperate bid to empty them" and then sell the contents. The radio described this "sudden emergence of thousands of traders" as a matter to be checked by revolutionary committees. In a meeting reported by Tripoli radio, Al-Qadhdhafi declared that he will submit the question of "militarization" of schools, institutes and factories to the next session of the basic popular conferences as a step toward establishing an "armed people."

Lebanon

According to the Voice of Lebanon, 15 people were killed and more than 20 injured when two bombs placed in parked cars exploded in the Al-Ashrafiyah district of Beirut. According to Beirut radio, Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan expressed "utter regret" over the incidents.

A Lebanese Forces Command Council official statement carried by the Voice of Lebanon also deprecated the "criminal acts of sabotage." AFP reported that in southern Lebanon rightwing and leftist militias have agreed on a truce over the Shi'ite Al-Ashura festival, which lasts until 18 November.

Pakistan

AFP reported that Ambassador to China Mohammed Yunus denied reports of a delivery of Chinese F-9 fighter bombers to Pakistan. The ambassador also denied reports of a new arms agreement with the Chinese.

Afghanistan

At an 11 November party Central Committee plenum reported by Kabul radio, the report of General Secretary Babrak Karmal on his visit to the Soviet Union was unanimously approved.

FBIS DAILY REPORT CONTENTS

Middle East and Africa

Vol V No 220 *12 November 1980*

MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA REVIEW i

INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Arab League's Klibi Cables Appeal to Reagan A 1
African OPEC Members Meet in Algiers A 1
'Arafat Meets With Indian Foreign Minister 10 Nov [VOP] A 2
'Arafat Hosts Banquet for Soviet Delegation 9 Nov [VOP] A 3

EGYPT

U.S., Egypt To Hold Joint Military Training Excercises D 1
'Ali Says Agreement With U.S. on F-5's Has lapsed D 1
[London ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT 8 Nov]
AL-AHRAM Views Compatibility of Reagan, Egyptian Policies [7 Nov] D 2
As-Sadat Addresses Arab, Islamic Peoples League 10 Nov D 3

IRAQ

President Husayn Speaks on War, Economy E 1
Text of President Husayn's 10 Nov Press Conference E 2
Armed Forces General Command Communiques 10-12 Nov E 19
Communique No 133 E 19
Communique No 134 E 19
Communique No 135 E 20
Tariq 'Aziz Meets With CPSU Officials E 21

SYRIA

Al-Asad Sends Congratulatory Message to Reagan H 1
Al-Asad Speech Covers Iraq-Iran War, Muslim Brotherhood H 1
Information Minister Discusses Syrian-Soviet Treaty H 6
Economic Delegation Departs for Talks in GDR H 8
CPSU Delegation Leaves Damascus 9 Nov H 8

NORTH AFRICA

ALGERIA

ASH-SHA'B: Election Will Not Change U.S. Policy [6 Nov] I 1

ISRAEL

Begin Interviewed on New U.S. Administration [MA'ARIV 10 Nov] N 1
Ceausescu Asks Begin To Prevent Mayors' Expulsion N 2

CENTRAL AFRICA

CHAD

Reportage on Fighting in Ndjamena, Libyan Role S 1
10 Nov Report S 1
11 Nov Report S 1
Pact With Libya S 1

SOUTHERN AFRICA

SOUTH AFRICA

Prime Minister Welcomes Proposal for Dialogue With OAU U 1

ZIMBABWE

Mugabe Addresses Nation on Violence in Bulawayo U 1
Government Officials Speak at Bulawayo Rallies U 2
Finance Minister on Papers U 2
Deputy Education Minister U 2
Further Reports on Fighting in Bulawayo U 2
Statement on Cease-fire U 3
Curfew Details U 3
Shooting in Township U 3
Salisbury Council Abolishes Wage Discrimination U 3

ARAB LEAGUE'S KLIBI CABLES APPEAL TO REAGAN

LD071630 Tunis TAP in Arabic 1000 GMT 7 Nov 80

[Text] Tunis, 7 Nov (TAP)--Chedli Klibi, general secretary of the Arab League, in a cable addressed to Mr Ronald Reagan following his victory in the American election, has called on him to reconsider U.S. policy t ward the case of the Palestinian people and their legitimate national rights.

Mr Klibi says in his cable: "The present policy, distinguished by partiality in favor of Israel, has not helped the case of Arab-American relations and has weakened the ties between the Arab states and the United States. Reconsideration of this policy is an imperative fundamental step for (?strengthening) the initiative of fairness and for restoring security and peace [word indistinct] to lay down a sound basis for positive relations between the Arab states and the United States. [Word indistinct] the United States being a major power and a permanent member of the Security Council places on her a special responsibility to maintain peace, and this responsibility compounded as a result of America's military, political and economic backing for Israel in its aggression against the Palestinian people and in occupying Arab territories."

Chedli Klibi adds that "the continued dispersal of the Palestinian Arab people outside their homeland constitutes an extremely grave affront to the whole international community which cannot be undone without the establishment of a Palestinian state. The continued Israeli occupation of Arab territories constitutes a grave and permanent threat to peace and security in the Middle East, as well as in the whole world, which cannot [word indistinct] except for the application of UN resolutions and the effective participation of the United States, which is wholly responsible for providing the means of aggression to Israel.

"Peace and security in the Middle East cannot be realized except by implementation of the UN resolutions which enable the Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination, including their right to establish their independent state with the full participation of the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and through Israel's complete withdrawal from all occupied territories."

AFRICAN OPEC MEMBERS MEET IN ALGIERS

LD092200 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 9 Nov 80

[Text] The African oil ministers--members of OPEC--met in Algiers on Saturday and Sunday to study the international energy situation in the light of current developments and their reflection on Third World countries and Africa in particular.

The oil ministers of Algeria, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, Gabon and Nigeria studied the conditions for supplying African countries with crude oil and its byproducts following the stoppage of Iraqi and Iranian oil exports. The ministers decided to take into consideration the most appropriate means to meet these countries' local oil requirements in addition to the existing bilateral relations with the rest of the developing countries.

The oil establishments of those four countries have been entrusted with studying and applying the resolutions adopted by the meeting. According to the Gabonese oil minister, those establishments should allocate 4 percent of their oil production, amounting to 5 million barrels per day, to meet the needs of African countries.

On the other hand the ministers studied the international oil situation, and in particular the conditions for supplying oil-consuming countries. They confirmed their desire to respect the OPEC resolutions adopted recently in Geneva.

Concerning the fighting between Iran and Iraq, the ministers expressed their sorrow for the conflict between two OPEC member states. They expressed anxiety over the war's consequences for the two countries. The ministers gave prominence to the forthcoming OPEC symposium in Bali, Indonesia. It will be an occasion to consolidate their organization and stress its solidarity with the Third World.

The meeting of the four African countries was held in an atmosphere of frankness, cordiality and solidarity. The meeting shed light on the true direction of OPEC's activity, constituting testimony that the solidarity of the OPEC countries with the Third World countries is a fact reflected by tangible events.

'ARAFAT MEETS WITH INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER 10 NOV

NC101725 (Clandestine) Voice of Palestine in Arabic to the Arab World 1615 GMT 10 Nov 80

[Text] Today before noon brother leader Abu 'Ammar received the Indian foreign minister, Mr Rao. Those who attended the meeting on the Indian side were the Deputy Foreign Minister (Ra'is Gandari) and the Indian ambassador in Beirut, Mr (Dawan). Also attending on the Palestinian side was the head of the PLO's Political Department, Brother Abu al-Lutf.

The meeting dealt with the current topics and situation in the area--foremost among which is the Iraqi-Iranian conflict and the roles of the nonaligned movement and the coordination committee which met in the Yugoslav capital on 3 November. The committee will meet again in New Delhi.

The Palestinian and Indian sides focused on the role of the nonaligned movement and its efforts to terminate the fighting and stem the flow of blood.

The meeting also discussed the Zionist escalation against southern Lebanon, the Israeli troop concentrations and the recurring aggression against the Palestinian camps and the Lebanese cities and villages.

The meeting also dealt with the current situation in the occupied territories--where our Palestinian people, who are suffering from the yoke of occupation, are being subjected to many modes of savage repression by the occupation authorities. Palestinian-Indian bilateral relations were also on the agenda. The two sides agreed on developing and nurturing these relations and on continuing the contacts and consultations regarding various topics.

Abu 'Ammar also sent a special message to the Indian prime minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, in which he also conveyed his regards to the Indian president, Sanjiva Reddy.

'ARAFAT HOSTS BANQUET FOR SOVIET DELEGATION 9 NOV

NC100917 (Clandestine) Voice of Palestine in Arabic to the Arab World 0745 GMT 10 Nov 80

[Text] Brother Abu 'Ammar has briefed a high-ranking Soviet party delegation on the grave Zionist escalation in southern Lebanon and the isolationist escalation, headed by Bashir al-Jumayyil and in coordination with the Zionist enemy, for control of the Christian areas in Lebanon.

The brother commander also spoke about the current conditions through which the Palestinian revolution is passing. He elaborated on the Zionist-isolationist scheme against Lebanon.

At a dinner banquet held last night in honor of the Soviet delegation, which includes prominent officials led by (Karil Rosiltich), vice chairman of international relations in the CPSU Central Committee [title as heard], Brother Abu 'Ammar said that the U.S. military presence in the Gulf area threatens the independence of the area and its people. The U.S. presence complements the Israeli role in the Palestinian revolution and in fraternal Syria.

The head of the Soviet delegation said that Moscow will always stand by the just struggle of the Palestinian people against the Israeli aggression. He said that the Soviet UN representative conveyed to the Zionist UN representative--despite the break in diplomatic relations--the Soviet Union's deep concern over the continued aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian people in southern Lebanon.

In conclusion Brother Abu 'Ammar asked the head of the Soviet delegation to convey his thanks to Soviet leader Brezhnev for his firm stand on and support of the Palestinian revolution and cause.

Attending the banquet were Abu al-Lutf, head of the PLO Political Department; Abu Iyad, Fatah Central Committee member; George Hawi, Lebanese Communist Party secretary general; Nayif Hawatimah, Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh and Abu Mahir al-Yamani.

U.S., EGYPT TO HOLD JOINT MILITARY TRAINING EXERCISES

NC110911 Cairo MENA in English 0830 GMT 11 Nov 80

[Text] Cairo, 11 Nov (MENA)--Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces Lieutenant General Muhammad 'Abd al-Halim Abu Ghazalah declared that approval has been given for an Egyptian military unit to travel to the United States of America to join in exercises with the United States Armed Forces, reports AL-AHRAM.

In an interview with AL-AHRAM Lt Gen Abu Ghazalah declared that a United States Armed Forces airborne detachment has begun arriving in Cairo West Air Base, and the whole unit will arrive by November 13. The unit will carry out joint airborne landing exercising with the Egyptian forces for which a plan has been drawn up. The exercises will be attended by United States General Keel, commander of the U.S. Rapid Intervention Force. The American unit will remain in Egypt for ten to twelve days.

Lt General Abu Ghazalah pointed out that joint exercises with other countries is an advanced form of training and that the joint exercises with the United States force will be carried out with live ammunition in some of its stages. He said that the American force will benefit by acquainting itself with the nature of the land and the climate which approximates the nature of the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf area where United States forces might go into action at the request of the states of the area.

He further pointed out that transporting a military force over a long distance is in itself training in air transport and logistics, and that this type of training was actually not new since the British forces despatch a battalion to Sudan for joint training with the Sudanese forces in order to become acquainted with the nature of life in the area.

The chief of staff of the armed forces also spoke about arms supplies from the USA. He said that the first batch of M-60 tanks is scheduled to arrive early next month together with a batch of M-113 armoured vehicles. More than 300 tanks of the advanced M-60 type will arrive in monthly batches.

'ALI SAYS AGREEMENT WITH U.S. ON F-5'S HAS LAPSED

LD110959 London ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 8 Nov 80 p 1

[Text] Cairo--Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali has pointed out for the first time in an exclusive statement to ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the agreement concluded between Egypt and the United States on the manufacture of the American fighter plane F-5 in Egypt no longer exists.

Kamal Hasan 'Ali, who is a former defense minister, added that Egypt is now holding new consultations with the United States and other states to conclude agreements for the manufacture and assembly of warplanes and helicopters and other weapons. Egypt will decide on which is best.

Chief of Staff Lt Gen 'Abd al-Halim Abu Ghazalah recently visited France to discuss the promotion of military cooperation with Egypt.

Regarding the list of demands which Egypt submitted recently and which pertain to the third military loan to Egypt since the conclusion of the Camp David agreements and the lukewarm response of Carter's administration, the minister said that the United States does not oppose the idea in principle.

He said that he believes that the administration of President-elect Reagan will be more understanding regarding Egypt's military requirements. He said that it would be better for Egypt and more desireable to quickly obtain the arms previously agreed upon in view of the situation in the area.

AL-AHRAM VIEWS COMPATIBILITY OF REAGAN, EGYPTIAN POLICIES

LD111117 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 7 Nov 80 pp 1,3

[Chief Editor Ibrahim Nafi' article: "The Election of Reagan and the Arab Situation"]

[Excerpts] Obviously when the American people chose their new president, Ronald Reagan, they did so in order to bring about a change.

There is no doubt that the American citizen, like the citizen of any other country, is concerned with finding solutions to his daily problems, although he may be different in that he insists on the high standard of living which he is used to. Therefore he calls for a change when it appears to him that the policies pursued have not been successful.

But specialists in U.S. foreign policy agree that there is a new factor or general rule governing the mood of the American people. This is described as "a violent national mood" that is likely to remain for a long period of time. This "mood," which has emerged over the past few days, is due to the fact that the United States is beginning to get rid of the Vietnam complex. So the American people have chosen or were completely biased in favor of a new U.S. president who talks about American power and the need to restore U.S. prestige. The majority of the people believe that this power has been greatly weakened in Western Europe, Japan, the Middle East, Asia and Africa.

Ronald Reagan says that the United States will increase its military budget if it cannot obtain better terms [presumably from the Soviet Union] for greater reductions in nuclear arsenals, and indeed declared his intention of withdrawing the SALT treaty with the Soviet Union from U.S. Senate consideration if he was elected.

All these reasons could be behind Ronald Reagon's landslide victory in the U.S. presidential election. But, nevertheless, it is premature to analyze Reagan's domestic and foreign policies before we know his choice of advisers and secretaries to help him in his administration. Moreover, past experience of U.S. presidential elections has taught us that statements by presidential candidates during the election campaign do not necessarily represent the final policy which the president will carry out when he enters the oval office in the White House.

But if we look from the viewpoint of the area in which we live, we can observe that the president-elect has stressed several principal points, which are:

1. Continued economic and military aid to Israel. This is an escalating U.S. policy as a result of the strength and penetration of the "Zionist lobby" in the U.S. administration and the legislative bodies there.

2. His belief in the need for a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East. President as-Sadat was right in saying that "he has absolutely no doubt about the commitment of the successive U.S. administrations to the cause of peace, a commitment which is supported by the American people and the Congress." This is because Reagan sees no other solution that would ensure the stability and security of the Middle East area, which contains the vital oil interests for the Unites States, Western Europe and Japan.

3. Complementary to the previous point, his clear desire is to establish a balance between the two superpowers in the Middle East area. He believes that if there is to be detente it should not be exploited by one party in its own favor.

It is obvious from the president-elect's statements that he believes that the Vietnam complex was an obstacle to U.S. foreign policy and that it has given the Soviet Union the opportunity to embark on systematic penetration of the Middle East, Africa, and Asia.

In this area in particular there is common ground between the U.S. president-elect's views and Egypt's declared and clear policy. In fact this is the view of the majority of the Arab countries, whose leaders fail to speak out, preferring to bury their head in the sand.

Egypt stands in the way of Soviet penetration of the Arab and Islamic countries--in fact, of the Islamic countries before the Arab countries. It is time to speak again about Afghanistan, over which everybody is keeping silent. They are also keeping silent over what the Soviet Union is doing in South Yemen and Ethiopia. Other Islamic and Arab countries might succumb one after the other.

Egypt's stand does not mean that it is under U.S. tutelage. Egypt will not forsake its independence or give up its belief in nonalignment. But Egypt says "no" when it sees Hafiz al-Asad inviting the Soviet Union to penetrate and control the destiny of the Arab countries in order to preserve his minority regime. Al-Asad is also trying to convince the Libyan regime to sign a similar treaty with the Soviet Union. Thus the Soviet Union will have bases in the Red Sea and in the Mediterranean. Egypt also rejects interference by the United States in any Arab state in order to protect the power of any rules.

Obviously Egypt insists on facing up to the Soviet threat to the Arab area and will not remain silent over this. Egypt still insists on giving the United States facilities to use against any sabotage or threat to the Gulf countries or the Islamic countries. This is explicit; it is unlike some of the bombastic statements by some of these countries that "they are capable of defending themselves" while they are well aware of their own capabilities.

Once again we would say that the Egyptian ideas agree with the U.S. president-elect's ideas on the inevitability of establishing an effective balance between the two superpowers in the area around us. Thus Egypt is not biased in favor of the United States against the Soviet Union.

AS-SADAT ADDRESSES ARAB, ISLAMIC PEOPLE'S LEAGUE 10 NOV

NC101200 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 0932 GMT 10 Nov 80

[Speech by President Anwar as-Sadat at opening session of the Arab and Islamic Peoples League Constituent Assembly in Cairo--live in linkup of Cairo transmitters]

[Text] Brother and sister members of the Constituent Assembly of the Arab and Islamic Peoples League, brother Muslims and Arabs everywhere: On the anniversary of the immortal Islamic mission--which has lasted 14 Hegira centuries and which has been led by the loyal prophet of mankind Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah--may God's blessing and peace be with him: Following the historic Egyptian victories achieved in the realms of war and peace, freedom and development; after Egypt proved that it is the rightful citadel and haven of security and after it distinguished itself through its integrity and strength in a shattered area, dominated by a disownment of religious teachings and fraternal ties and in which aggression reigns over international legitimacy; in a world which is suffering from strife and uncertainty, and is being torn apart by regional wars as well as threatened with annihilation by a holocaust of world war; in Cairo--this Cairo which is proud of its Islamic and Arab leadership for well over 1,000 years.

Which has always been the haven for those struggling for freedom and progress in various countries and from whose exalted Al-Azhar, leaders of opinion and beacons of wisdom throughout the Arab world have graudated--we meet at noon of the second day of the 15th century of the hegira. We meet on a truthful note for Egypt, the Islamic nation and the Arab homeland.

Therefore, may I extend a good and blessed greeting to you, to Islam and to Arabism now that we are meeting for the sake of sincere and enlightened Islamic-Arab cooperation.

I also extend a good and blessed greeting to you, to Islam and to Arabism as we are taking the first steps on a straight course. I shall extend even better and nobler greetings to you, to Islam and to Arabism as, God willing, we achieve our objectives and raise the banners of peace, freedom and prosperity all over the Islamic world and the Arab homeland.

Brothers and sisters, I am delighted to address, on behalf of the Egyptian people and on my own behalf, a special greeting to our cherished brothers; namely, the members of fraternal Sudan. [applause] They are indeed an elite of intellectuals and of opinion leaders. Their initiative is an expression of truthfulness, a presage of success and a consolidation of the strong ties which bind the two brotherly peoples of the Valley of the Nile together. Greetings to the Democratic Republic of Sudan; to its proud and dignified people and to its brotherly and noble president. [applause]

Brothers and sisters, let us remember on this great occasion the one who made the blessed hegira, Muhammad, the faithful messenger, God's peace be upon him. Let us remember all the messengers in whose messages we believe, from Abraham, the patriarch of the prophets to Moses and Jesus, peace be upon them. Let us remember the builders of the Islamic-Arab state and civilization, As-Siddiq [epithet of the first caliph, meaning the righteous] Abu Bakr, Al-Faruq [epithet of the second caliph, meaning the one who distinguishes truth from falsehood] 'Umar and those who followed them. Let us also remember the pioneers of enlightened Islamic-Arab cooperation. Let us remember these pioneers and glorify their struggle in all parts of the Islamic world. Let us glorify the special role embarked upon jointly by the Muslim and Arab pioneers in Egypt--either from among its citizens or those who came to it in appreciation of its role and in order to convey their message to the world from its pulpits--these pulpits which continue to radiate with light and confidence and which have been heard throughout the past 14 centuries and are entering the 15th century with greater brightness, radiance and nobility in word, call and confidence.

Let us, brothers and sisters, draw inspiration from the Islamic-Arab fast, which led mankind for six golden centuries and covered the world with the banners of peace, justice, and brotherhood. Let us draw inspiration from all of this to help us in our present painful situation, in which some Muslims and Arabs are reverting to a state worse than the first al-jahiliyah [the state of ignorance that existed before Islam]. Brother is boycotting brother and launches war against him at home and abroad; Muslims are killing Muslim brothers; the Muslim and Arab is allying himself with the forces of foreign aggression against his country, homeland and nation.

Wars, conflicts and ignorances have torn apart our Islamic and Arab world. There has been deviation from peace, brotherhood and justice--these basic pillars of the true religion. Money and resources have been wasted. There has been strife, dispute and war between the Arabs and Muslims. They ruined their homes and homelands with their own hands and forced their countries to live in the darkness of oppression, suppression and backwardness. They denied the rights of their peoples--the rights of freedom, progress and prosperity.

If our historic roots are rich in sublime values, let us take Al-Faruq 'Umar as a sublime aim in our modern renaissance. Ibn al-Khattab established the basis of the international system, made ash-shura [consultation] the basis of national government--as the almighty God has ordered us--established the state of Islam on religious tolerance and human enlightenment and was always characterized by justice, honesty, soundness of opinion and sincerity of will.

Another companion described him, saying that he was an impregnable bastion of Islam and that when he was killed the bastion was undermined and violated. Another companion describing him said that Islam in the days of 'Umar was like a flourishing human being and when he was killed, Islam receded and continued to do so.

Brothers and sisters, can we revive Islam's tolerance, enlightenment, and strength? Can we regain the Arab image of the past? This is our great hope. It is the duty of everyone of us to work sincerely toward this end.

It behooves us to remember the recent past also. In this past the distant and near tributaries converge. It is the outcome of old and recent developments.

Here we must remember the pioneers of the call for Arab-Islamic cooperation. Prominent among them were the Egyptian pioneers. There were also the non-Egyptian pioneers, who came to Egypt to call for reform and progress along with the Egyptian advocates of reform and progress. This was because they comprehended Egypt's cultural role in ancient and recent times. They also understood Egypt's manpower, intellectual and material capabilities as well as its central position and its voice in the Islamic world and in the Arab homeland.

It was no coincidence, pervading the centuries and generations, that the Muslim and Arab reformers from all parts of Egypt planted the seeds of their ideas. They planted those seeds in the Egyptian soil so as to grow into a giant, fruitful and towering trees, with their roots deep and firm into the ground and branching high into the sky.

I most faithfully believe that our present and future will not bloom unless the foundations of our past are revived. These are the foundations of our firm historic origin as far as religion and civilization are concerned. At the same time, we must adapt to the Arab and international developments and we must benefit from the far-reaching progress in all fields.

All our heavenly religions preach reform and development and all have room for all the requirements of life, in their steady growth and movement.

Islam is an immortal revitalizing revolution throughout the ages.

From the distant past, we must remember men who preached the revival of the Islamic revolution. Foremost among them was Rifa'i at-Tahtawi. He was born early in the 19th century after the French campaign in Egypt. With his pioneering mind he was able to combine Arab and Islamic cultural genuineness and modern Western progress. He was truly the East's window to the West, and an advocate of the intellectual and material link between them. He thus directed eyes, minds and hearts to free democracy, constitutional institutions, supremacy of the law and justice. He directed the suffering masses toward revolution against tyranny, exploitation and corruption. He led, 150 years ago, the call for emancipation of women and for their right to education, work and equality with men. He drew up a complete plan for economic and social development.

Rifa'i at-Tahtawi was not a man of limited vision. He was a man of broad horizons and comprehensive appreciation. He called for justice for the peasants and the laborers--as he called them--or the workers, as we now call them. He also advocated the rights of the toiling masses of our militant peoples.

Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani was another pioneering leader who made Egypt his second homeland. He came 40 years after At-Tahtawi. Like At-Tahtawi, Al-Afghani worked to make renovation among the Muslims a means for advancing the masses to positions of government and responsibility and to positions of building the masses' present and future. He also worked to resist the foreign imperialists that were marching on our country, religion, values and civilization.

Now, through the teachings of Islam and in order to defend the freedom of all the Muslims, the valiant Afghan strugglers are struggling against the sinful Soviet invasion and are inflicting the heaviest losses on the Soviet invaders.

Through the tradition of Egyptian-Afghan cooperation and by means of the strong ties of Islam, Egypt stands alongside the Afghan strugglers and backs them [applause] militarily, materially and politically. It is no coincidence that the first office established in your constituent assembly is the office of Afghanistan. [applause]

At-Tahtawi and Al-Afghani were followed by their successor, Muhammad 'Abduh. He continued their mission of renovation and progress. He even added to this mission; he worked out a full program for religious and social reform. He was notable for his enlightened vision, his insight into religion--the religion of all of mankind and of all the generations. He called for the release from the bondage of subservience. These three persons were pioneers unprecedented in their time. They not only championed causes and views; they combined intellectual contribution with heroic struggle. They were all subjected to banishment and persecution.

How much it now behooves us to keep in mind their program of struggle in order to forge ahead on the basis of sincere cooperation among the adherents of the divine religions. Imam Muhammad 'Abduh expressed this through his unique logic and his eloquent style when he said: My father gave me a life which I share with my brothers 'Ali and Mahrus. Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani gave me a life, which I share with Muhammad, Ibrahim, Musa, 'Isa [meaning Jesus Christ] and the friends of God and the saints.

Brothers and sisters, I based my call for the establishment of the religious complex on this program. I hope that this complex will be a beacon for the comprehensive struggle for peace, freedom and understanding.

The founders of the League of Islamic and Arab Peoples must follow this path. Only in this way can they establish a firm basis for complete solidarity and true cooperation and lay the foundations of the league and establish its principles.

Muhammad 'Abduh and Al-Afghani cooperated in the establishment of a political struggle organization, which is the Close-Link Organization [Tanzim al-'Urwati al-Wuthqa], and their newspaper was given this name to advocate the organization's principles and aims. This newspaper raised the banner of liberation and equality. It was one of the factors of revival and progress.

Therefore, I call on you, brothers and sisters and all the founders of the League of Islamic and Arab Peoples, to revive this strong near past and let the close-link be our newspaper to express our hopes and the hopes of all Muslims and Arabs.

On the occasion of the call for better Islamic-Arab cooperation, we must remember 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi. 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Kawakibi was born in Aleppo in the middle of the 19th century. But he came to Egypt, where he struggled for this cooperation.

In a story he wrote, he imagined the establishment of a popular Islamic organization which would consist of a general assembly of 100 members, representing the Islamic peoples, a general council and a consultative council with branches in the countries of the Islamic world.

Brothers and sisters, on this day we must also hail the rest of the pioneers who were faithful to the call for restoration and Islamic-Arab cooperation. In the dawn of Islam, the honorable companion of Prophet Abu Dharr al-Ghafariy called for social justice among Muslims and justice to the poor and deprived. In the middle of the 8th century, Al-Farabi was one of the first people who called for the establishment of a union among the Islamic states which, he said, need each other. In an attempt to confront the foreign dangers and pressures on the Islamic world, the ideas of restoration and cooperation between the Muslims and Arabs crystalized in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Egyptian preachers at the end of the 19th century were joined by preachers from all parts of the Islamic world. We saw Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahab calling from Najd [Saudi Arabia] for the restoration of belief and spirit, and Midhat Basha calling from Turkey--the Islamic succession state--for the restoration of the government and administration as a way to the consolidation of general Islamic cooperation; in India we saw Ahmad Khan and Amir 'Ali forming the Islamic National Society and the Islamic Defense Society and supporting the call of the pioneers for brotherhood and cooperation and Muslims. The same path was followed by the Tunisian Khayr ad-Din Basha and the Egyptian 'Ali Mubarak Basha.

At the beginning of the 20th century, we saw the establishment of the Islamic Brotherhood Society in Egypt and many comparable societies in various Islamic states, which adopted the call for the establishment of the Islamic league. Among these are the Islamic Partnership Society [Jam'iyat Ash-Sharakah al-Islamiyah] in Indonesia under the leadership of ('Umar Sayf).

In this respect, the Egyptians and all the Arabs and Muslims take pride in the effective role of Al-Azhar for over 1000 years. It has always been the center of the assembly of the pioneers and students from the various Islamic and Arab peoples.

It still encompasses an integrated Islamic society, deriving its members from the four corners of the world. The reason is that it is the meeting place of reform and science for those who come to it from all the homelands of the Muslim world. It is the trustee of the glories and sciences of our immortal nation. It is the factor for which the Muslim peoples rally around leaders, proud of the language of the holy Koran and of its eloquent Arabic expression.

At today's meeting, it is imperative for us to remember, brothers and sisters, the first Islamic conference which convened in Cairo 65 years ago. This conference was convened under the chairmanship of the grand imam, the shaykh of the Al-Azhar Mosque.

In the month of May in the year 1926, delegates of Egypt, Al-Hijaz [presently Saudi Arabia], Yemen, Palestine, Iraq, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, South Africa, Indonesia, Malaysia, India and Poland met in Cairo at this conference. Their objective was to unify the Muslims, after they had been divided, over the question of the Islamic caliphate. This followed the proclamation by Turkey, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, in which Turkey abrogated this caliphate.

Conferences and groupings followed here and there. The call then arose for establishing the Islamic People's League to which the peoples would contribute, and through which they would pool their strength to resist foreign imperialism which then dominated the Islamic countries. These peoples would also seek to enable these countries to attain independence and freedom and to establish cooperation among themselves.

However, the interference of the foreign powers on the one side, and the differences among the Muslim leaders on the other, placed an obstacle on the road to Islamic cooperation.

Then, Egypt called for talks on Arab unity during World War II. The call for convening meetings in Cairo and Alexandria was then met by the Arab states of that time. These states were: Jordan, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Yemen. As you know, the Arab homeland was then ending the yoke of foreign hegemony. Jordan, Egypt and Iraq were under the British sphere of influence. Syria and Lebanon were in the French sphere of influence. Even this call made by Egypt was under some suspicion when it was given the green light by the foreign secretary of Great Britain, Anthony Eden, at the British House of Commons, when he endorsed the emergence of an Arab League prior to its establishment. This was the state of affairs which then prevailed.

The preparatory work put on record Egypt's call for a popular cooperation which would engulf all the peoples of the Arab nation, including those peoples who were independent, colonized or subject to foreign domination.

However, the talks on Arab unity neither resulted in a popular organization nor in an effective union for cooperation. However, Arab differences and foreign intervention--with the latter then reigning in our Arab world--led to the rise of a governmental system for an optional and general cooperation which lacked integrated scientific planning; which lacked the specification of programs, duties and commitments; and which lacked the means for followup and implementation.

Events and developments occurred successively and differences broke out continuously. Egypt bore the brunt of the burden and offered great human and material sacrifices, both at the emergence of this entity and in the continuing wars which had been fought in defending Arab rights.

The Arab League failed to establish Arab solidarity or achieve any defensive, social or economic objectives. Not only that, it could not achieve the economic and social progress that was achieved by other international groups in Europe, America and other areas. That was indeed strange because we have more elements of nationalism, unity, complements and capabilities than any of these groups.

Once again, the disputes among Arab countries grew with time, culminating in the rejectionist movement that arose 3 years ago. In this movement, foreign ambitions used Arab and Islamic countries--Libya, Syria, and South Yemen--that were later joined by others. Arab funds were squandered, and their forces and resources were mobilized in a relentless war against the historic victories of Egypt and of its achievements in war, peace, freedom and development.

Egypt, however, has grown stronger, firmer, more secure and more advanced. Egypt's policy has imposed its will on those who fought and opposed it. It has continued to struggle for the Palestinian people, for Jerusalem, and for a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East.

The disputes of the rejectionists soon tore them apart. They persisted in fighting each other and in destroying their own homes and establishments with their own hands. The dangers threatening the region's security and world peace reached their peak when the rejectionists began severing diplomatic relations with one another.

Egypt, however, has remained and--God willing--will always remain a center of the Arab-Islamic grouping. [applause] When the rejectionists isolated themselves from it they became more fragmented than ever.

The first rejectionist states--Libya, Syria and South Yemen--are now isolated from the Arab-Islamic world, have become Soviet satellites, and have turned their back on the Islamic and Arab peoples. Worst of all, these states joined hands to support the Soviet Union's action against the fraternal and Muslim people of Afghanistan. They have supported the Soviet Union and continue to do so. They entered into an alliance with the Soviet Union and continue to be Soviet allies. Recently, they concluded defense pacts with the Soviet Union, which is daily committing the worst crimes against our fraternal Muslim Afghan people.

After the rejectionists tore up the pledges, documents, and commitments and froze that skeleton of an Arab League for 2 years, there was no way except to look for a better formula for Arab-Islamic cooperation; this is the Arab and Islamic Peoples League.

Brothers and sisters, brother Muslims and Arabs: We are not creating anything new now. However, through our present initiative, we want to revive a noble and bright past which was achieved at the dawn of early Islam. This past guaranteed progress for us, and peace and justice for the whole world.

For the sake of this past, Egypt fought in the Middle Ages to liberate the Muslim-Arab world from the Tartar conquests. For the sake of this past Egypt triumphed over the European invaders in Hittin of Palestine and in Al-Manusrah of Egypt. It is for the sake of this past that Egypt fought in October 1973 to defend Arabism and Islam, and their national rights and historical sacrosanctities.

Throughout 35 years, Arab proposals continued to be made on the establishment of a popular representation in addition to government representation. The July 1952 revolution was established on Islamic cooperation, just as it was based on Islamic and African cooperation. I was delighted, and I am still delighted, to have been working in the domain of inter-Islamic cooperation for a quarter of a century. The 1971 corrective revolution achieved an Islamic-Arabic cooperation which has been rare prior to and following the Ramadan victory, irrespective of the plotting of the schemers who had only reaped failure after failure through their plotting. They will suffer more failure. God willing, the banners of peace, freedom and development will be raised in our area.

Brothers and sisters, perhaps you have noticed that the problem of Islamic-Arab security has now reached the peak of its dimension. Now this problem makes it imperative for all the Muslims and Arabs to discharge their duty. The reason is that the Iraqi-Iranian was has lasted a long time in an unprecedented manner to the extent of destroying the sons of the two Muslim peoples. It has also destroyed their power and potential. The Soviet invasion has been crushing Afghanistan for 11 months and is still crushing that country. This invasion still insists on perpetrating aggression. This invasion is costing the Muslim and struggling Afghan people the greatest sacrifices. Some years ago, these two events were preceded by successive wars and conflicts in the Arab Maghreb, the Horn of Africa, Lebanon and other Islamic and Arab countries.

Furthermore, the regimes of Syria, Libya and the PDRY are launching ferocious wars against the Arab and Muslim peoples of these countries. As you know--as we all know--and as announced to the whole world, the rulers of Syria called for an alliance with the Soviet Union to protect them from their people, who want to achieve for themselves the peace which has been achieved for the Egyptian people.

The call for peace stems from the very core of our tradition and from the very core of Islam. O faithful: But if the enemy incline towards peace, do though [also] incline toward peace, and trust in God: For He is the one that heareth and knoweth.

If two parties among the believers fall into a quarrel, make ye peace between them; but if one of them transgresses beyond bounds against the other, then fight ye [all] against the one that transgresses until it complies with the command of God.

Peace is the rule of international relations in Islam. Aggressive invasion is proscribed. Defense against aggression is a legitimate right. The resolution of differences through reconciliation or through peaceful means is an Islamic and Arab principle. It is imperative for all the Muslims to combat the aggressor until he complies with the command of God and until he abides by the principles of Islam--principles of peace, reconciliation and resistance of aggression.

Collective security is the main basis for economic and social progress. Therefore, brothers and sisters, you must establish collective security as the basis for socioeconomic progress so your work will be the application and normalization of the principles of Islam and the ethics of Arabism.

On the basis of these principles and ethics, I have repeatedly announced, on behalf of the Egyptian people and as an expression of their will, readiness to assist any Arab or Islamic state that faces aggression. [applause] This will remain, God willing, the line and policy of Egypt--Egypt the country of every Muslim and Arab throughout history and the generations.

Brothers and sisters, the establishment of the Arab and Islamic Peoples League comes as an affirmation of Egypt's historic role in the Islamic and Arab world, not in quest of leadership as some may say, but as proof of the determination to confront the present aggressive challenges and to work hard to save the Islamic and Arab world from disagreements, conflicts and escalating wars.

One of the leading aims of your league must be building a true Islamic-Arab solidarity and effective integration, particularly in the sphere of economic and social development, preparing for a better Islamic and Arab future and planning for the mobilization of Islamic and Arab resources for the common principles, aims and interests and for freedom, dignity and brotherhood of the Muslim and Arab man. In this regard, the league, in my view, must first follow up the Islamic and Arab issues and events and call for practical and studied positions on them. The league must then work with all available means to settle the disputes and end the current conflicts and wars and to build and develop close brotherly ties. The league must then draw up an integral plan for Islamic-Arab cooperation in all fields, with special attention to the field of economic and social development. We must benefit from past experiences and mistakes, adapt to contemporary progress and fulfil the demands of our long-suffering peoples for peace, freedom and development. We must then devote our efforts to reveal this plan to secure the general public's conviction for it. We must seek first to unify the thought in order to be able to unify the will and action.

I would like to point out that popular cooperation does not exclude official cooperation. I sincerely tell you, brothers and sisters, that the idea of establishing this league is not to open the door to new conflict with the Arab or Islamic regimes; on the contrary, the establishment of the Arab and Islamic Peoples League is an aim for which I have been working for more than 26 years--since I began working as the secretary general of the Islamic Conference in 1954. The aim was not achieved then because we turned to politics instead of relying on our historic basis.

As you well know, there can be contention in politics but never in Islam. [applause] Therefore, I want you to know that I am not opening a new arena for fighting, not even against those states that support the Soviet Union against Afghanistan. We want an arena where there is no disagreement among us--peoples and governments, officials and otherwise. We want to uphold right above everything else. We want work free from friction, grudges, emotions and earthly things. Islam, not the dirham or the dinar, is the highest authority. [applause]

I repeat: Popular cooperation does not rule out official cooperation. On the contrary, it seeks to strengthen it and base it on firm, cultural foundations. In the long run, they could compelment one another in their quest for security, prosperity and general progress.

Here I wish to cite the example of the EEC. Once again I frankly tell you, our Islamic nation and our great Arab homeland that we will live by what is right and what is possible. We will not indulge in slogans, illusions or emotions. I tell you that we must be serious when we call for Arab-Islamic unity; political unity will never be achieved.

As I have told you, there is always room for contention in politics. Entities, leaderships, borders and states have emerged and there is no way that they can be cancelled. There is no use clinging to empty slogans such as merger, unity or political unity: This is nonsense. Let us call a spade a spade. What we are seeking is what is now happening in Europe, the Community of the Nine, which are states with different origins, languages and religions but have common interests and specific, common principles. They have achieved an elected European Parliament. Lest we scare some who might think that this call is one way of depriving them of their positions, incomes, or dinars, let us be very clear. Let us not call for a unity that will never materialize. Let us call for a unity of action based on principles on which we can never disagree--the principles of Islam and our heavenly religions. [applause]

I do not exaggerate when I say that what the Nine in Europe are doing stems from our very heritage, something to which we never paid attention. Why don't we?

During the discussion on personal status last year, I said that Europe and America used the principles of Islam as a basis for the rights of women in the personal status laws and for perserving the family structure, while we, who are the origin of all this, used to fight and struggle among ourselves--for what, I do not know.

Let us speak clearly and frankly to our Islamic nation and Arab homeland. Let us never be ashamed of stating the plain truth. Let us speak the language of the century in which we live. This language places everything before the people--and the will of the people reigns sublime!

We presently lack these things in our Islamic world and in our Arab nation and there is no need for me to discuss this matter in detail. You are all aware of this fact. Perhaps some people think that when I discuss this matter I am attacking them. In this place, and as I have told you, I attack no one. And this meeting place of ours is not an arena for a new battle or struggle, which is aimed at dissension or which adds a new sedition to the seditions the Muslims and Arabs are experiencing. Let this be a meeting place for piety and for truth--we will worship God alone and nobody but God! [applause]

Naturally, God willing, foremost among the objectives of your league--at your hands and at the hands of your brothers from the Muslim world who will join your Constituent Assembly--is to create an atmosphere for a comprehensive popular mobilization of good and righteousness. This mobilization will lay the groundwork for an integrated national Islamic-Arab group [hashd]. This objective has become imperative. The reason is that we have suffered and we are still suffering in a world in which ideas are confused and in which the essence of religion is surrounded at different times by fanaticism, atheism and deviation. Many people have been blinded to the teachings of their tolerant and noble religion. They have transgressed against Islam, Arabism and patriotism.

Therefore, I say that it has become the duty of all the Arabs and Muslims to struggle to uphold the word of Islam and Arabism and to work sincerely for a reciprocal solidarity between the Muslim and Arab peoples on the basis of unifying their thought, will and work.

I have another idea which I want to put forward to you: Foremost among the duties of the league is to make the Islamic-Arab nation a world power, which would be capable of influencing world politics.

Brothers and sisters, you remember that after the October war, the world classified us as the sixth power in today's world. We then retreated to an extent that we have become the laughing stock of the world, because of the excessive plights which we have inflicted on ourselves. And I do not want to relate history, for someone might think that this is not a new battlefield. Indeed, I want this to be the new field for the battle of right, brotherhood and all the values which God Almighty has decreed so that this earth can be built on love, harmony and peace.

I say that in my view--and I will put it before you--it is your duty to bring to prominence the entity of the Islamic-Arab nation as a world power which has its weight and ability to influence international politics, because this will protect its interests and ensure the general good for it. I am always confident that the straight road is the road of dealing with the international community on the basis that the peoples are the main expression and that the new league is the peoples' tool in this expression. Therefore, bridges of understanding and joint action with the Islamic and Arab popular organizations in the whole world must be established in an effort to gather their efforts, enhance their activities, and to enlist international trends in favor of the Islamic-Arab nation and all humanity.

The heritage represented in the teachings of Islam and the Arab civilization is the possession of the peoples of the Islamic and Arab nation. The League of Islamic and Arab Peoples must work with vision to revive the heritage and to soundly acquaint others with it and to develop the Islamic-Arab noble values and deepen them in the hearts of the youth. In this way, we will build for the Islamic and Arab peoples generations able to work for a single Islamic nation and a united Arab people. The achievement of this aim requires the provision of aid and support to every effort which is being exerted to collect this heritage and to put it at the disposal of the public. It also requires the employment of experts and specialists in this field.

Therefore, the new league must embark on all the political, economic, social and cultural fields and choose the best methods based on past experiences and the present progress. For example, it should support the popular societies and communities which serve the aims of the organization in various spheres and specialities, it should support the establishment of the world union of Muslim-Arab youths that will include in its membership the Islamic and Arab youth organizations and societies. One of the duties of the league is to support this union and chart for it the serious, constructive way so that the youth can share in the building of the nation and in laying down the sound basis for a bright future, God willing. Another duty is to strengthen the brotherly links between the Muslim and Arab youths through participation in world Islamic and Arab conferences, seminars and studies and through joint researches, visits, and scholarships. Another duty is to establish the Islamic-Arab labor union in order to strengthen the international position of the workers and protect their national interests and raise the standard of performance and develop its means. Another duty is to cooperate with the United Nations and the international organizations and bodies for the service of the Islamic and Arab peoples and for achieving their aspirations.

Brothers and sisters, work inside and outside the league must be characterized by ability to confront the problems and to provide solutions to them, and not just to analyze them an offer recommendations on them. Of course, if it was possible to keep silent about this method of analyzing problems and offering recommendations on them in the previous Arab League, it must be totally rejected in the League of Peoples, because the League of Peoples is being established as an expression of the will of the peoples and their unity, and as an affirmation of their ability to deal with their affairs and achieve welfare and prosperity for them. Therefore, the establishment of close links with Islamic and Arab popular organizations and the establishment of specialized offices for major problems and issues of interest ot the Islamic and Arab peoples is an examplary method which must be followed in our new league.

The League of Islamic and Arab Peoples must understand that its success, continuing existence, and proof of the need for it depend on the peoples' response to this league. The reason is that this response is the correct translation of their feelings and the true expression of their will and ambitions--and this is what the government and semigovernment organizations have failed to achieve. The peoples have lost their confidence in these organizations. The peoples have even considered these organizations as restricting their freedom to express their will. Furthermore, the peoples have considered these organizations as a restriction which prevents them from moving forward toward the fulfillment of their objective.

Therefore, in order to secure the response of the peoples to the new league and the peoples' interaction with it, this league should contact these peoples and sound them out on their real hopes and ambitions. Furthermore, this league should seek to translate these hopes and this ambition into realities, plans and projects in which the peoples would find a true expression of their hoes. If this were done, the peoples would not hesitate to offer whatever they could to achieve this league's objectives.

God has decreed that it is impossible for the League of Islamic and Arab Peoples to remain a mere spectator on the events which are taking place around and on the conspiracies which are being concocted against the Islamic and Arab peoples. It is imperative for this league to take the initiative and to begin moving. Then, the Islamic and Arab peoples would not adopt a negative attitude toward this league, as they did in the past with government organizations that had arisen in the names of these peoples, as I have said. In actual fact, the peoples participated in no way in these organizations' work.

Through interaction with events and through a sincere response to the hopes of public opinion, the Islamic and Arab peoples will consider their league as compensation for what they had missed for several years.

My first hope is that a general and comprehensive plan will be laid down on a well-thought-out scientific and practical basis. This plan would open the way for economic and industrial development for the Islamic and Arab peoples. Furthermore, this plan would depend on the contribution of the peoples to the establishment of Islamic economic establishments.

In this respect, I call for the establishment of an Islamic-Arab bank which will rank foremost among the contemporary world banks as far as capital, self-sufficiency and capability are concerned. This bank would finance the demands of development. Also connected to this matter is the setting up of Islamic and Arab companies and establishment of joint establishments for writing and publishing and for information.

Brothers and sisters, your assembly is holding this meeting within its limited form. Your assembly includes efficient and qualified people from Egypt and Sudan--and these are Islamic and Arabic qualified people.

It is imperative for you to ensure the complete representation of the Islamic and Arab peoples and to lay down the rules for choosing the best personalities and the most capable qualified experts. You will then be able to carry out your work in an ample and integral manner.

Brothers and sisters: The road is long. Responsibility is great. Challenges are great. However, as our Chinese friends say, the trip of 1,000 miles begins with the first step. He who walks on the road reaches its end. The will of the believer moves lofty mountains, as the august [Caliph] 'Umar ibn al-Khattab said. It is our duty to plant good trees to pick their blessed fruit, or our sons will reap them after us. This is our duty toward our present and future. It is also the duty of all the generations which will follow us.

Brothers and sisters, let us return to the clear and blessed springs of Islam. Let us be worthy of God almighty's words: Ye are the best of peoples evolved for mankind. Let us find out what God means by saying: Help ye one another in righteousness and piety. And also by God almighty's saying: And fall into no disputes lest ye lost heart and your power depart. And hold fast, all together, by the rope which God (?stretches out for you). and be not divided among yourselves. Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right, and forbidding what is wrong; they are the ones to attain felicity. Be not like those who are divided amongst themselves and fall into disputations after receiving clear signs; for them is a dreadful penalty.

May God grant you support and back you with his victory. May God grant you wisdom, because those who are given wisdom have been given great grace. May God give you power through him and with him. May he give you integrity. Integrity is for God, his prophet and the faithful.

Invoke God the almighty to light your road so you can achieve your mission and honor the trust. Peace be with you!

PRESIDENT HUSAYN SPEAKS ON WAR, ECONOMY

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[Text] Baghdad, 10 Nov (INA)--President Saddam Husayn has reiterated that Iraq will always continue to hold to its principles of wresting victory and of defeating the enemy until the latter succumbs to Iraq's just rights.

In a speech made during his visit today to the Ministry of Planning, President Saddam Husayn said the war will neither dissuade the Iraqis nor weaken and wreck their economy, as the enemies imagine. He added that the Iraqi Army's victories will be entrenched not only by carrying the gun and fighting its enemies, but also by further building, intensifying economic capabilities and preserving Iraq principles forever.

President Saddam Husayn called for redoubled efforts at building and production, in order to boost the economy, because without a strong economy the frontlines will be weakened, despite our confidence that our economy is strong. The president added: I am confident that Iraq's economy is much stronger than that of the enemy. Nevertheless, we want further economic capabilities in order to wage a protracted war should the enemy ask for it and in order to defeat their arrogance, their men and their economic capabilities. He asserted that Iraq's economy will prosper even under the current war circumstances. The enemies will realize this.

He added: At the beginning of the war, the Iranian leaders deceived their people by saying the Iraqis had not prepared themselves for the war and they had no capabilities for waging a protracted war. They also told them the situation would change in favor of Iran in a matter of a few days. However, the heroic Iraqi Army has proven to the enemy that it is stronger and more capable in the second month of the war. It will be stronger and even more capable in coming months, God willing. The enemies must wait months to see our continued victories.

President Saddam Husayn said that an Iranian commander once quoted the Koran, saying "How oft, by God's will, hath a small force vanquished a big one?" The commander forgot that Iran's population is three times that of Iraq. However, they are small, in terms of morale.

We have rightly believed that some of the Iranian leaders, including Khomeyni, have no idea of what is going on in the front. Khomeyni does not read the papers, listen to the radio or watch television. He does not even go to the streets to acquaint himself with the citizen's needs. Such a mentality will never grasp the front's needs, until his people crush him.

President Saddam Husayn expressed appreciation of all Iraqis, old and young, women or children, who are reared under the protection of the revolution and guided by its principles. He referred to the decision to allow citizens over 65 years of age to volunteer, saying that this decision was made in response to their requests to participate in the battle of honor and dignity.

President Saddam Husayn added that enemy information agencies will exploit this decision, to say that the Iraqi youth have all been called, thus forcing Iraq to enlist old men. We want to tell them and all others that in Iraq, there are young men, old men and women, even children, all of whom are ready to carry a gun to defend the homeland.

President Saddam Husayn said that the command is in the process of studying the possibilities of Iraqi women participating in the battle within their capabilities and achieving equality between the two sexes. This will prove to our enemy that we are fighting him with our men, our women, our children and our old men, in addition to our young men, and that he has no choice but to give in to our historic rights and those of the Arab nation.

TEXT OF PRESIDENT HUSAYN'S 10 NOV PRESS CONFERENCE

JN111241 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1130 GMT 11 Nov 80

[Text] Baghdad, 11 Nov (INA)--The text of President Saddam Husayn's 10 November press conference is as follows:

Question: Your Excellency, do you believe the war has lasted longer than Iraq expected? How can you ensure the requisites for a long war of attrition? Has the Soviet Union fulfilled its obligations, in accordance with the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed between you? Has France carried out its contracts with you? What are the results and objectives of the visit which Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz has made to Moscow and Paris?

Answer: Welcome to the Arab brothers; welcome to our friends; welcome to those who want to learn the truth as it is in its humanitarian and other aspects. Regarding the war and whether we believe it has lasted longer or not than we expected: Undoubtedly, in asking this question, which might be for various motives, you are looking for a basic point: Namely, will Iraq maintain its military victory if it takes a long time? Will it be able to obtain political results which will safeguard its sovereignty and dignity and strengthen the sovereignty, dignity and security of the Arabs? In answer to this question, we say:

The Arabs have waged many wars and battles in the modern age. They were forced to enter all these wars, including this war which was begun by Iran and in which Iraq was the Arab side. This war began on 4 September 1980. The wars which the Arabs waged against the Arab nation's enemies, particularly the Zionist entity, contained much bitterness as well as memories of which we are proud. Any rational Arab--by rational I am referring not to reason but to a mind which can qualify him to say that he is responsible--should study the experiences of the Arabs in the modern age. He should learn lessons from these experiences which will teach him foresight in the battles he is waging. Iraq and its men should be the first to study the ancient and modern history of their nation. They should learn rich lessons from this history and should pause at every turning point in this history. Those people who criticized the Arabs, while they are Arabs themselves, for the negative aspects of their wars with the Zionist entity should always be aware of these aspects when they are compelled to take a decision to confront an arrogant enemy that has forced them to go to war. They should always be aware of these lessons.

Circumstances made us Arab. I cannot speak only as an Iraqi, despite the maligning that might or will come from this or that Arab. Therefore, we consider Egypt's war against the tripartite aggression in 1956 as our experience. We consider the Arabs' experience in the war of Syria, Jordan and Egypt in 1967 as our experience. We consider the war of the Arabs in 1973, represented by Syria and Egypt, in the geographic frontline with its known military significance, against the Zionist entity as our own experience. All these wars, both in their negative and positive aspects, provide rich lessons.

Therefore, what was being said--we expected the enemy from the East and it appeared from the West, or we expected the enemy from the North and it appeared in the South--cannot be a justification for us not to triumph in our battle against our new enemy. If it is said we did not expect the enemy to mobilize his forces in less than 1 week but he did so in 5 days, this cannot be a pretext for us not to calculate accurately. If it is said we expected our reserves to last 2 months but the war extended to 4 months, and, therefore, our calculations were not accurate, this cannot be an excuse for us not to triumph in our current battle with the new enemy and not to calculate accurately.

Therefore, I tell you frankly and sincerely that we are satisfied with our calculations in our war against our new enemy, who imposed this war upon us and which we accepted with honor. Our calculations remain sound. The positive responses, with all their technical and nontechnical aspects, that have supported us on the Arab, international and Iraqi levels are better than the calculations which we put on paper when we took the confrontation decision.

You might say, perhaps, that these words are not accurate. Perhaps you have heard such words from other people. However, let me ask you: What is the time period you are looking for? The war has been going on for 2 months. Except for the wars of liberation, this war is the longest war in the history of modern wars between two countries since World War II. Wars of liberation have other significances and are another situation.

We have been fighting for 2 months against the arsenal in which the United States and other countries have tried to pour all that is up to date in science and technology in the service of military plans and defensive fortifications. All the CENTO experience, which was gained before the shah's fall, is at the disposal of Iran. We have been fighting them for 2 months. We have been improving our military positions and advancing for 2 months. Call our advance slow if you want. At first, you, I mean some of you, called it fast. During the first week, you called it fast. You said the Iraqis have pushed forward without taking into account their communication lines and the defensive arrangements taken by the enemy. Some of you then began to criticize us because we slowed down. Once you say this is Soviet inspired, once Western inspired and once Eastern inspired. I say this is inspired by Arab Iraqi ideology. It is inspired by our lessons, brothers, the lesson of all the Arabs. The credit for these results goes to all the Arabs. Even those who are bad today have a technical credit in these results because they made us calculate accurately. Of course, we always expect the bad ones. We were not taken by surprise by them. We were, however, taken by surprise by the good ones, by some good ones who showed more than we had expected in the Arab and international fields. This country with its men, organs, people, leaders and other officials always takes the worst eventuality into consideration when it is faced with any situation.

The same quarters expected us to fail in the March 1970 declaration, but we did not. They thought we had embarked on a big venture and that Iraq would be fragmented, but Iraq's unity became stronger. The same quarters expected us to fail in our nationalization step. They thought we had embarked on an uncalculated venture, but we succeeded. The same quarters pinned high hopes on a dispute between civilians and militarists, but they were disappointed. The same quarters expected us to fail in our 12-month war against the pockets of apóstasy in 1974, but we won and their assessments were wrong. The same quarters had expectations and still have them, even before receiving the central instructions, particularly influenced by Zionist organs and quarters.

During the first week of the war, or during the first 5 days of the war, we anticipated this and told the command headquarters that this calm in information in the first stage is due to surprise. After it receives the central instruction, the distortion will begin, particularly with the Zionist quarters and otherquarters which do not want Iraq to triumph nor this Arab nation to rise.

We also said that the tune will change, and it did. I am not talking about those of you who ask questions. On the contrary, we are always grateful for those who pose questions, for questions, explanations, clarifications and discussions are important means to arrive at the truth. However, we are upset by people who know the truth but do not mention it or who stay away from it.

If you go to Abadan-al-Muhammarah [Khorramshahr] Al-Muhammarah-Ahvaz, Al-Muhammarah-Dezful sector, you will see tens of kilometers of newly paved roads constructed by Iraq and not by the Iraqi military. They were constructed by Iraqi civilian bodies behind the army because in Iraq everyone participates in the fighting in his own way. The engineer, officer, soldier, People's Army member, excavator driver, towing vehicle driver, peasant in the field, artist, writer, man of letters, journalist--each from his position--as well as Iraq's children, whom you see carrying out their civil defense duties, are all contributing to the battle with great honor. You will see tens of kilometers of roads paved behind the army. You will also see that they are paved so as to take into account the winter season and the likely changes in Dez Dam, changes caused by either man or nature, and changes to the Karkheh River caused by man, nature and winter rains.

The war broke out on 4 September. The Iranian enemy began it against our people and country. September was not a rainy month. Only one week or 10 days after 23 September, the day when our ground forces crossed into the Iranian territory and when fighting raged on a large scale, work began on paving roads, building sand embankments and stretching paved roads to the Iraqi Army's administrative centers where the army is fighting in Dezful, Ahvaz, Al-Muhammarah, Abadan, Qasr-e Shirin, Mehran and other places. If we had not paved these roads, you might have said that once again a Third World state does not calculate like the big powers and like those who are aware of science and employ it skillfully. You might say the Arabs are like such states. Certainly the Zionist entity and its quarters say: Look at the Arabs and how they have not taken into account the Dez Dam and Iranian rivers, which might be changed by an act of nature or by the hands of the Iranians. Perhaps now as I tell you that we have paved roads, you will say the Iraqis are then decided against leaving this land. However, we tell you that in pursuing our course we are always guided by the prophet's tradition which says: Do for your world as if you are to live forever and do for your end as if you are to die tomorrow. Therefore, neither our mothers nor Iraq's children would excuse us if we told them we are sorry, for we could not take into account the winter season and changes of nature.

So with God's help, we hope to deserve the good opinion of the Iraqis: to calculate precisely and to behave wisely. Therefore, I want to assure you that no matter how long the war may continue, we are up to it. I stress again the wish that this war had never occurred. We wish that, not out of fear or weakness--and this has become quite clear now--but out of a feeling of responsibility towards the interests of our country, those of the Arab nation and of humanity in this sensitive part of the world. We always think this way whenever we conduct any national duty. We always take into consideration the interests and security of the Arab nation and humanity as well.

We want this area to be stable. Thus we have tried by every means to keep this area free of armed conflict, particularly the Arab Gulf area, which is very sensitive to the world's interests. This area is quite important both to the advanced states and those of the Third World. Unfortunately, we did not succeed in keeping this area free of conflicts because conflicts are not decided by the will of one side alone. The will of the Iranian side must coincide with ours, but unfortunately this did not happen. Their will was evil, irresponsible, conceited and arrogant. They imagined that they could turn the Arabs of the Gulf into servants. Their imagination was spurred by considerations of size. their country is larger than the Emirates and the other Gulf states; thus they could--so they expected or imagined--subjugate the peoples of these states. They may have forgotten Iraq or they may have even expected to turn Iraq into a servant or a subject in their orbit, into a humiliated country. That was their concept of relations with the other Arab countries.

They forgot that the will of the Arab citizen has been revived, at least in this place, in Iraq. This place, Iraq, is enough to repulse the hideous threat of Iran. Iraq's will is not the only one that has been revived, for there are other healthy wills among the Arabs. I am not telling a secret and I hope that these Arabs will not be disturbed or displeased when I say we were pleasantly surprised by them. Do not interpret my words to mean that they have sent soldiers to fight at our side. No, we have not asked for this and no one has done so although it is not something about which to feel shame. If it were, how can we then justify the fact that the Iraqi Army fought with the Syrian Army? It is not shameful for the Arab to stand beside his fellow Arab against the foreigner, especially if the latter jeoparizes the Arab's security, sovereignty, honor integrity and interests. We do so not because we do not need the Arab efforts, thinking that asking for Arab efforts is shameful or impermissible, but because we are satisfied with the efforts of the Iraqis in this confrontation against this cursed foreigner. We do so also because we are competent and we can shoulder the honor of this battle on behalf of the Arabs, so the Iraqi can be worth ten or even more. Otherwise, how can we explain the triumph of 12 million over a people three times greater.

They carry the nation's honor and mission. Therefore, I say that every Arab, wherever he may be--and not just the Iraqis', who fought honorably--is to be credited for the results of this battle.

The history of the Arab nation was a main motivation for all of us to triumph. The Arab nation's present, despite all its negative aspects, was also a motivation. Our responsible view of the situation has made us triumph in our battles against the arrogant Persian regime, which is to be suspected despite all the slogans it voices.

My answer to the question of what will happen if the war goes on, is that we are satisfied with our own calculations. We will continue to cope with the changes with the same spirit we began with on the first day when we accepted the challenge and entered the war.

Has the Soviet Union fulfilled its obligations? Has France carried out its contracts? And what are the results of Tariq 'Aziz's visits to Moscow and Paris? In answer to these questions, we tell the world: We divide our relations into categories in international relations, we have relations with people who are termed friends, and we have what you may term normal relations with other peoples and nations. We also have relations with those who are termed enemies.

France and the Soviet Union come under the first category. We have established broad-based relations with them on the military, political, economic and cultural levels. The treaty of friendship and cooperation we signed with the Soviet Union does not say that we should defend the Soviet Union when it clashes with foreign powers or that the Soviet Union should defend us when we clash with foreign states. The friendship between us and France does not demand that we should do this or that for France and vice versa.

Question: Your Excellency, you said in a recent speech in the National Assembly that you are ready to withdraw your forces from Iranian territory as soon as Iran recognizes your rights. You also added that the prolongation of the war would result in additional rights for Iraq over and above the prewar rights. Would you kindly give us a detailed idea about additional rights?

Answer: What more can I say about additional rights? The world has witnessed many wars, so it is possible for anyone to be guided by some aspects of their political results. If, for example, we take the results of World War II, we will find that those who were the cause of the war bore some of its results. Therefore, what can one say about these people? You tell them: Now that we have defeated you militarily, here is your territory; take it in return for your recognition of Arab and Iraqi rights as established under agreements and on the basis of the nonuse of force against other people's sovereignty. And they tell you: We don't want it.

So what do we do? Do we go and kiss Khomeyni's head? As long as we are fighting on it, this territory is considered part of our necessary defense arrangements to insure security. Not all of the territory may be necessary. But we may find, if the war continues, that we have to add to it. On the other hand, we may find that we have to subtract from it.

At any rate, the Iranian enemy must know that the prolongation of the war entails additional rights not just under our norms, but also under world norms in general. What are these rights? Future battles will reveal them 1 year, 6 months, 2 years or 3 years from now. These rights will become clear as the war goes on. But it is definite that the men who are sacrificing their lives must have additional rights.

Question: Is it true that Iraq has not pushed all its forces into the war against Iran, and is it true that Iraq was forced to change its plan and battle from a quick battle to a slow one? What is your opinion about the quality of weapons used by both sides and the morale of the two countries' forces?

Answer: I do not want to talk in a negative manner about the Iranian fighters' morale so as not to offend the feelings of those who might be good among them. Some of them, regardless of their percentage, might have been pushed into a war they did not want nor wish to wage against Iraq. Therefore, I say that the subject of morale is governed by various considerations, headed by the question of the extent to which the fighter believes that his leadership is not relinquishing his blood but is employing it for essential purposes and in defense of what is superior to blood; namely, honor, sovereignty and national and pan-Arab rights, and the extent to which the fighter trusts, his leadership's prudence and ability. The other secondary factors come afterward.

As we have expected and as is obvious, the Iraqis are enjoying high morale and high faith. The gap between them and the leadership is very small, if it exists at all, while maintaining the chain of command. The subject of whose morale was better does not need complicated calculations. After two months of fighting, the results can tell us clearly whose morale is better. What we say without hesitation is that the Iraqis--children, women, old men and women of all strata and professions--are ready to fight and achieve the required results since we have been forced to enter the war.

Question: What do you think of the quality of the weapons used by the two sides?

Answer: The weapons we have are good and the weapons the Iranians have are good. Both are good, and the two kinds of weapons are obtained from the two most developed states in the world. Basically, our weapons are from the Soviet Union and the Iranian weapons are basically from the United States. We do not want to talk about how many weapons we or they have. This is not important. What is important is that the weapons we have were enough for us, and with them we achieved what we have achieved. What is left with us is enough to carry on in the manner about which we have talked. These weapons are effective in the hands of men who used them. Weapons do not do anything by themselves. They are effective through the minds and blood of men, their hands and accurate fingers. Hence, the Iraqis fought excellently with the weapons in their hands.

Question: The war was not confined to striking at military targets. What is the extent of the damage from which the Iraqi economy is suffering as a result of the war? When will Iraq be able to resume the national development plan and export its oil? Are the Iraqi losses in the economic field greater than the Iranian losses?

Answer: In our reply, which we shall repeat, we asked whether during World War II the allies only hit the Nazis' military targets--by this I mean hitting only soldiers and military installations--or bombed and hit organs, installations and the means which support the armed forces. It is evident that the area of such organs would be expanded or reduced in accordance with individual judgments and interpretations, the passage of time, stages of the war and circumstances. However, we were not the first to strike at the targets or any other means of support for the Iranian Armed Forces. Rather, the Iranians themselves began to do so. Indeed, they began to strike at civilian targets, targets which, according to all considerations and concepts, are considered purely civilian. The Iranians began their war by striking at populated cities for no reason whatsoever. Thus, on 4 September they shelled the cities of Khanaqin, Mandali and Zurbatiyah and the oil installations in Naft Khaneh. This is stated in their communiques. Indeed, they are proud of such deeds.

Thus, we believe that the war actually started on 4 September and not 22 September and, accordingly, we believe that our decision to wage a war was a reply to a war waged against us as a result of an Iranian decision to fight us, which preceded our decision. Thus, they shelled civilian targets, including oil installations, before 22 September and admitted this in their communiques. Before we replied to the Iranian side, we used to warn them against repeating such acts since this would force us to retaliate. You can refer to the communiques issued by the General Command of the Iraqi Armed Forces and the official communiques which were either carried by the Iranian radio or news agency, since this would prove to you that the Iranians themselves began to shell purely civilian targets.

You might say: Well, you hit them in Dezful and Ahvaz. Well, what can we do with the Khomeyni guards if they flee and, instead of confronting the Iraqi Army, disappear in Dezful, Ahvaz or Abadan and begin to shell the Iraqi Army from inside the cities? All we did--and we do not forget our humane responsibilities--was to bide our time before warning the people through the radio and telling them to prevent the military and Khomeyni guards from entering the cities and using them to shell the Iraqi Army. We also told these people that if they are not capable of preventing these military and guards from entering the cities, they should evacuate these cities, since we would be forced to reply to the shelling. Indeed, this is what we have done and will do.

You ask about when Iraq will resume its activities where the national, economic and social plan is concerned. Who told you that Iraq's national plan has stopped? The national plan is continuing. I visited the Planning Ministry today and was acquainted with the estimates included in the 1981 plan, which will be submitted to us for approval. We shall go on with the 1981 plan at the beginning of the year 1981, God willing, even if the war is still raging then.

We do not occupy ourselves with the war, since if this should happen and the development we desire for our country is discontinued, we would only be achieving the basic motives of those who have caused the war, be they in Iran or outside Iran--and principle among those who have done so are the Zionist entity and world Zionism.

You will inevitably ask about what happened to the Iraqi nuclear reactors. I would like to tell you right now that those men who acquired reactors--even if these have been completely or partly destroyed--are capable of acquiring even better ones.

The Zionist entity has its own objectives in this war and actually spurred the Iranians to start the war. This explains the Iranians' continuous bad deeds against the Arab nation, deeds aimed at forcing Iraq to lose its patience. They shelled the border posts. They shelled the border posts more than 12 times, it was officially recorded in memos we sent to the Iranian side. Their fighter planes violated Iraqi airspace more than 40 times. This is in addition to the bombs detonated among Iraqi children and students by members of the Iranian community and the Iranian employees who used to work at the official Iranian school. According to the agreement which was signed between us, there were schools for members of the Iranian community here in Iraq, and we also ran schools for teaching members of the Arab community there in Iran.

I assert that our annual plan is continuing. It is quite natural that this plan has been slightly affected due to the departure of some of the foreigners. Here we must pause to say that as for those companies which do not adhere to their responsibilities and commitments to us under the pretext of war, we will take this behavior into consideration, especially in the case of any future dealings with such companies. We will not forget the states and companies that adopted a positive stand on our just war. We will try not to forget those who adopt a negative stand. I said "we will try" because we have good hearts when dealing with the Arabs. Some of them have done us wrong. We sometimes forget, but this time we will try to remind ourselves and the Iraqis of the slights of this or that side.

Here I want to express our thanks and appreciation to Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Japan for continuing to implement the projects entrusted to them. I also thank all the others who continue to implement their commitments.

You realize that our oil production has cease. Yet I ask you to tell the entire world and the Iranians that we are studying the resumption of oil pumping. Let them know that we will resume oil pumping as soon as we have completed our technical arrangements. This will not be a secret because tankers will come to ship our oil. If this were a secret, we would not have revealed it to you.

Who has been harmed, we or they? Life is full of strange phenomena which come in varying degrees. Some are necessary and some are not. These phenomena keep changing. They are relative and differ from one time to another, between one case and another, sometimes between one person and another and even between one social stratum and another. What is confirmed, however, is that integrity, sovereignty and national security occupy the highest levels of these phenomena.

The most important matter is not how much harm is caused to our economy but to what extent we can preserve our integrity, sovereignty, honor and national and pan-Arab security. The Iranians wanted to encircle the Iraqi cities because the distance between the Iranian border and Baghdad ranges between 100 and 120 kilometers. If they advance for about 60 to 70 kilometers, they can bring Baghdad under their artillery fire. Nowadays, we are hammering them and will continue to hammer them until these rotten heads come to their senses or until the Iranian peoples chose someone whose head is good and not rotten to lead them. If the Iranian peoples do so, they will do it not for us but for themselves because these rotten heads have destroyed Iran and will continue to destroy more and more. The longer the war is, the more destruction will be caused to Iran.

We will not be happy to destroy Iran. However, when Iran is an enemy, we will be absolutely happy if it is destroyed, disrupted, divided or becomes whatever it might become. We will not be unhappy if this happens. But when Iran is friendly or cares about itself and we care about ourselves, we will care for Iran to be united, unharmed, stable and so forth.

You may ask whether we are for Iran's division or its unity. I tell you clearly that we are with its division when it is an enemy of the Arab nation and Iraq; we are also for its weakness, destruction and instability. This talk may not be diplomatic, but this is the truth. It is a truth in my heart and in the heart of every Iraqi, in my mind and the mind of every Iraqi. I even believe it is in the mind, heart and conscience of every Arab who loves the soil of the Arab homeland and inhales its fresh air with integrity and honor. This is also our attitude toward all our enemies, including Iran, of course. Even those good people in Iran will certainly care for Iraq when Iraq is a friend of Iran that cares for its security, unity and so forth. This will also be the case with the Soviet Union, the United States, France and the others. This is a real issue. When your neighbor is your enemy, you wish him to be weak; when your neighbor is your friend, you wish him strength. Accordingly, we wish Turkey to be prosperous, stable and in good condition because it has a stand that is different from that of Iran in its relations with us.

Now you ask what we expect for Iran. However, the question may be whether you, as Iraqis, are decided on dividing Iran. I reply by saying that if we were decided on that, I would say yes, but we have not decided. The war did not break out on the basis of dividing Iran. It broke out for our part in reply to a war declared and carried out by Iran against us and against our security and sovereignty as well as against the security, sovereignty and honor of the Arabs. Even some of those having Arab nationality who took the side of Iran have dealt with Iran in a humiliating manner. It seems that some love humiliation. Naturally, the one who takes the side of the foreigner against the Arabs can only be servile.

Some have sent senior officials to Iran and waited for 2 weeks in Tehran so that the Tehran rulers would agree to meet with them and deal with them officially. Two whole weeks. Even their plane kept flying over Tehran for 4 hours until they allowed it to land. They were then kept at the airport for several hours. Man wishes that those servile pople take the side of the enemy so as to be exposed to the Arab pople and their own people. You may say that perhaps the Iraqis want to divide Iran. This was not one of our decisions when we started the war. However, if Iran continues to be the enemy of Iraq and the Arabs, the Iraqi minds must discuss this subject.

It is certain that the consideration to which I referred must arise where any Iraqi or Arab plan is concerned or even where a Soviet plan is concerned--since the Soviet Union is Iran's other neighbor--had the Soviet Union been in our position. If France had been in our position, it would also have considered matters from the same perspective.

At any rate, we shall continue to act responsibly where the world's legitimate interests, where the world and international security are concerned, since we are aware of the threat posed by the region we are in and since we are aware that 60 percent of the world oil reserves are found in the gulf region and that a large quantity of oil is exported from the Arab Gulf region. This is why we have always stressed and continue to stress the importance of freedom of navigation in the Strait of Hormuz and the Arab Gulf's navigation route. Thus, we see that it is not only in the interest of Iraq and the Arab nation that the three Arab islands--namely, Greater and Lesser Tunbs and Abu Musa, which were usurped in 1971--should return to their legitimate owner, the UAE.

Indeed, it is in the interest of the world and all those whose legitimate interests lie in safeguarding the security of the Gulf region, the gulf navigation route and navigation in the Strait of Hormuz that these Arab islands be returned to their owners, that the Iranian side recognize our complete rights to the Shatt al-'Arab and other usurped Iraqi territories and all Arab rights, and that the Shatt al-'Arab become Iraqi and Arab again.

Middle of the road solutions cannot serve the region's security. Indeed, if the three islands continue to be held by Iran, the world must expect a new war which the Arabs will wage against Iran in order to return these islands to their owner, since these islands are Arab in territory and nationality. However, if the ruler concerned with these islands cannot return them through using arms or other means, it is another matter. The Arabs--and here I mean the real Arabs, Arabs by conscience, logic and creed, not Arabs by nationality--consider every usurped Arab territory as an Arab territory. Thus, if a usurped Arab territory belongs to Jordan, Iraq would consider itself responsible for its return. Likewise, just as returning such a territory is Jordan's responsibility, it is also the responsibility of the Sudanese, Egyptians, Syrians and Arabs in the Arab Peninsula, Gulf and Maghreb--in short, the responsibility of Arabs everywhere.

Therefore, since the war has broken out this time, let all rights be settled so that the world will rest, so that relations will be established on clear foundations and so that legitimate rights will be guaranteed.

Otherwise, what would the state of the world be if war breaks out in 10 or 5 years' time, when the supply of oil in the market would be less than demand? Then, the world would face a big economic crisis or be on the verge of a new world war.

Thus, as long as the war has begun between us and Iran, let all rights be settled soundly and legitimately so that the world will become stable and so that the people, particularly our Iranian neighbors, will rest, since then they would feel that they have relinquished their claims to the legitimate rights of others and would not have to prepare themselves for war or the possibility of war. Likewise, the Iraqis, Arabs in the Arab Gulf region and Arabs everywhere would rest. The world would also rest and no one would be a loser. Indeed, the only loser would be Satan, not only the arch-Satan, the United States, but also the satan in Tehran and Qom, the real Satan, the arch-Satan.

I do not have a scale to weigh whether the loss is less or more. However, I say that you see the Iraqis being indifferent, but this does not mean that they do not scientifically realize the meaning of loss. The mentality present in Qom and Tehran is the mentality that does not scientifically realize the meaning of loss because it does not read newspapers, watch television or listen to the radio. Also, they do not go out to be seen by people. They do not know how people live and they do not know the meaning of shortage in food supplies.. They do not know the meaning of man's loss of cultural and social chances. But we realize their meaning, their entire meaning. The Iraqi people's eyes are open to protect Iraq's skies, lands and waters as well as Iraq's men, children, women and economy. We are in a strong position economically. Our plan for this year is continuing. Our 5-year plan will begin in 1981 and will continue with some billions of dinars, not dollars, in addition to the current budget expenditure. We will continue even if oil stops for 5 years. Our hard work of 13 years must yield a result. Now we have our international respect. There are people who have confidence in dealing with us, but who has confidence in the gentlemen in Tehran? Who guarantees that if someone signs a contract with a bank today no one else will come and say: I do not recognize him because he, who came before me, was not authorized? They did that, but we always carry out our commitments as we recognize them, as we abide by them. Therefore, believe me when I say that now there are states and banks that contact us without being asked to do so, inquiring about our financial needs, our need for loans to be given to us. We thank them, in turn.

The subject of development is a basic issue in our life, and our enthusiasm for it is basic as well. We continued it with the same enthusiasm when we fought the renegades' pockets for 12 months from March 1974 to March 1975. The development programs went on while fighting was continuing. This time fighting will continue and the development plans will also continue. It is only then that we can keep Iraq strong and capable of serving the Arab nation.

Question: Are you satisfied with the Arab states' stands on the war between you and Iran, with the exception of Syria and Libya, of course? Why have the Arab Gulf states not shown their support for you although they are threatened by Iran more than you are?

Answer: Are we satisfied? Satisfaction is relative. We are satisfied with any stand that rises to the level of our stand because we would adopt such a stand if Iran was fighting any other Arab country. If Iran was fighting Kuwait, for instance, we would have supported Kuwait with arms. Our army would have advanced inside Iranian territory as it is doing now. We have a special theory in this regard, and the non-Arabs cannot understand because it is a new phenomenon, because our homeland is divided into 22 parts. No other people but us have their homeland divided into 22 parts. They fear us. Zionism fears us. Zionism is right to fear us because our homeland is the native land of prophets, a land that cannot remain silent over injustice, a land that cannot remain silent over the filth of Zionism. Therefore, colonialism, Zionism and all other powers that have interests in dividing the Arab nation have divided our homeland into 22 parts. These powers are still trying in every possible way to divide these 22 parts into at least another 22 parts.

This is one of the things that shows how much alive our nation is. For this reason, I say that we are Arab Iraqis and that all Iraqis, even those who belong to other nationalities within the framework of the Iraqi society, are devoted to serving the Arab nation and spreading its message. In this regard, our party made it clear that there is no contradiction between the national feelings of the non-Arabs in Iraqi society and the duty of joint struggle. The non-Arabs in Iraqi society stand at the side of the Arabs in the struggle for preserving the Arab nation's noble objectives.

We, as Iraqis, fought on the side of the Arabs in 1967. We also fought on the side of the Arabs in 1973. We fight on the side of any Arab who may suffer from any foreigner and we will not ask whether the Arab is the aggressor or vice versa. You may say that this is an unwise or chauvinist theory. No, because we can only preserve our future and secure our fate by consolidating our solidarity and bringing it up to this level.

However, we advise the Arab not to harm any foreigner. Yet if the foreigner tries to violate the Arab's sovereignty, integrity, interests or security, then we will always stand at the side of the Arab by means of arms and not information and media. So if you are asking about satisfaction, principled satisfaction, I say: We want a stand from the Arabs similar to the one I have just pointed out. We want readiness from the Arabs that rises up to such a level. We want the Arab people to come and tell us: My army is ready and my men are ready to stand by your side in your battle. Only such a stand can satisfy us. Anything less than such a stand will be classified exactly like faith, which is classified by various degrees according to the principles of our ideological and religious course. This is based on the principle of: He who sees falseness should rectify it by his hands; if he fails, then by his tongue; and if he fails, then by his heart, and this is the least degree of faith. He who tries to rectify falseness by his heart is classified under the least degree of faith. The Arabs are classified according to this principle.

This is the official stand of the sides which you have mentioned. Their stands are well known to you. Even if their stands were not known, then I would have revealed such stands only to the Arabs because it is really painful to talk about such stands in front of non-Arabs. The stands of the other Arabs vary in degree.

In light of the evaluations we made before we decided to fight Iran, I can say that both the Arab and the international stands are much better than the worst possible stands we expected.

Question: Reports to the effect that the United States is about to resume the export of arms and spare parts to Iran and is about to lift the economic embargo imposed on Iran have been reiterated. What are the effects of such a step on Iran's military stand in the war and on your stand, militarily, toward Iran and politically and economically toward the United States and toward the other states that might resume their previous relations with Iran?

Answer: We had it in our assessment that the United States would not be our friend in this war. We are also not scared when the United States or others make insinuations on supplying Iran with spare parts or arms. They did so through the so-called black market. Have you ever seen a black market supplying F-14 and F-5 fighter planes and tanks of the Chieftain and M-60 type and so forth? Before the war, I had not heard that such a market existed. Have you ever seen this kind of sophisticated weaponry at the groceries, the groceries of the popular quarters? They tried to intimidate us with the issue of the spare parts. As you have seen, we are not scared. We have decided not to be scared this time. We have decided not to be scared regardless of their weapons. Any weapon they use, they will find us using weapons against it. We will continue to fight them until they recognize our rights. We will not be dissuaded by the spare parts which come to them from this or that place or by the weapons about which they talked. This is because, frankly speaking, they had no arms shortage. They suffered from things other than arms, foremost of which is that they are wrong. Right is not on their side because the Iranian soldier is now asking himself: Why are we fighting? The Iranian soldier is asking Bani-Sadr and Khomeyni: Didn't you say that we could reach Baghdad at any moment? Why haven't we reached Baghdad?

We did not deceive the Iraqis. We conveyed facts to them. We have conveyed the most bitter thing to them. We swore that the blood that was shed in Al-Mustansiriyah would not be in vain. They told their people that they would not be able to recall the Iranian Army when it leaves for Baghdad. They also told them that immediately upon the release of the statement, the so-called Ba'thist government and Saddam Husayn would collapse. When we talk, all the people go out to cheer. All Iraqis brandished their knives against them. This is Iraq's honor. This is their Iraqi blood and this is their Arabism.

The Iranians are now telling Bani-Sadr: Why did you involve us in this war? Why did you attack the people, when they are your neighbors? Why did you strafe their cities? Why did you continuously shell their outposts, doing so until you found out that they have patience and are capable of replying to you with a method in which they do not lose their patience? You shelled the cities again until you made them lose their patience. The Iranians will say to them: Despite all this, the Iraqis have defeated you, expelled you and shelled your heads with bombs. The Iraqis, nevertheless, are telling you that you can have your land back, only recognizing that Iraq should enjoy good-neighbor relations and respect Iraq's sovereignty, the sovereignty of the Arab nation and the rights of neighborliness. This is a legitimate statement.

What is the question the Iraqi asks us? There is no question to ask us because we did not enter the war for the sake of war. We entered it to defend his security, honor, sovereignty and rights. The Iraqi is now very content, and this is a great gain. He considers himself fighting the arrogant racists outside his borders and inside their territory. Iraq's women and children rest reassured when they see the Iraqi go to fight for them. He fights at a depth of 100 km, 110 km. The minimum depth penetrated by our army along the 550-km border region is 20 km. Iraq considers this alone a great achievement that has saved its economy from destruction and its security and honor from harm. This made the enemy moan and lick his wounds inside his lands.

This is one thing, and if matters deem it necessary to consider this state of affairs a long one, Iraq will consider it so. But how will Khomeyni, who has lied to the Iranians for years by saying that as soon as the Iranian Army enters Iraq it will be received with cheers and by saying that the Iranian Army is able to defeat the Iraqi Army and reach Baghdad, answer the Iranians? What will Khomeyni, who has launched an unjust war, tell the Iranians? What will he say to them in the face of the clear Iraqi logic which says take your land, but only recognize our right to our land; we preserve or rather respect your security once you respect our security; we respect your rights once you respect the rights of the Arabs and Iraqis? What will Khomeyni and Bani-Sadr say to them?

We will not be scared by the spare parts, whether they get them via the black market or official ways. What else will be brought to them? Let them bring the F-16 planes and we will hit it and down it in Iraq's skies. The MiG-21 fought and downed the F-14 because Iraq used its mind and faithful blood. It downed the F-14 in dogfights. It downed the Phantom, with which you used to frighten the Arabs--I do not mean you the questioners, I mean those circles that used it to frighten the Arabs. The Arabs do not fear it any more.

We no longer fear the cluster, phosphorus and napalm bombs. Everyone of these has its equivalent with us. If they think of chemical attacks, we will have something in return. If they think of any formula, Iraq will have the right to try and find something in return. During the war, within this short period of 2 months, the Iraqi mentality began to extract [as received] things, which I do not say were a surprise to us. By God, can't you see in this period how the Iraqi mind can work? This is not because we are in need of things but because we wanted to test man's mind. This mind began to make things that are considered the product of only the other states, states considered much more developed than Iraq.

Our men are rushing to the front in boundless numbers. I cannot give you the limits. If the front needs 1 million, we can send 1 million. If it needs 2 or 3 million, we can send them. There is one thing now embarrassing us, even embarrassing party officials who are younger than us or government officials who are younger than us. This is manifested in the fact that the people want to go to the front and the front cannot absorb them all. This is what embarrasses us. We want to find a place for Iraqi women and not for Iraqi men. Iraqi women keep nagging, saying that they want to fight on the front. They cannot intimidate us. We have decided not to fear. What would be our stand? Naturally, I can say clearly that we are trying not to forget the bad situation and its impact on the present and future Iraqi and Arab levels and even on the Third World countries' level. We have our position in the Third World countries. We also have our influence, and we will work against those trying to adopt a bad stand toward us. Certainly, he who adopts a good stand toward us, no matter who he is, will get from our side what he deserves.

Question: There is a question about the number of Iranian prisoners in Iraq. How many non-Iranians have been captured by the Iraqi forces? What are their nationalities? How many Iraqis have been captured by Iran? Many inquiries were raised within this context concerning the Iranian oil minister.

Answer: Why has the Iranian minister become so dear to them and to those circles which are sending us messages to release him? Why should we release him? Did we capture him while walking on the streets of Paris and bring him over to Baghdad? The man was captured with others who were in the theater of operations. He will be treated in accordance with the prisoners' and international laws. We will treat him in the same way we treat any other prisoner. Therefore, let those who think of mediating concerning the Iranian minister forget the matter. We tell them through you to forget the matter. This is shameful. This is neither objective nor fair. Is it because he is a minister? Suppose I walk on the streets of Tehran. Will Khomeyni take me or not take me prisoner?

The Iranian oil minister is a prisoner and the laws of POW's and the international conventions will be applied to him . You asked me about the number of Iraqi prisoners. I do not want to give you the figure because it is our intention to submit a claim for the number included in the official Iranian communiques. One day we will sit and everyone will make his claims. We will ask the Iranians to give us the Iraqi prisoners who were included in the official Iranian communiques.

It is not bad to accept their lists. We will therefore not correct the figure. As for their prisoners, it is more than hundreds.

Question: How would your excellency assess the situation on the Iraqi internal front and the effect of this situation on the battle front? Is it possible for us to learn the identity of those people who, as your excellency said, have either been slack or committed treason? Did these people act on their own or were they associated with a hostile organization? Also, is it possible for you to compare the situations on the internal front in both Iran and Iraq?

Answer: I shall leave it to you to compare the Iraqi and Iranian internal fronts. You are now in Iraq and are the Iraqi people's guests. Indeed, the foreigners among you are the Iraqi people's guests while the Arabs are in their own country. Nothing here is prohibited or banned. You can go anywhere you like. The Iraqi territory and people are there before you. You can walk over this land and watch the people. Read the eyes of the children and those who had the honor of being the martyrs' widows, mothers, sisters, brothers or fathers. Watch the Iraqis as they go about their usual everyday life. Watch the Iraqis during air raids if you are lucky enough to do so. Indeed, the Iraqis are displeased that the air raids are not directed against Baghdad, Basra or Kirkuk, the latter two being oil areas. The Iraqis are saying that there are no more planes. They want more Iranian planes so that they can down them. Watch the Iraqis as they go about their everyday life and you will reach the necessary conclusions. Perhaps you will then write what you have seen as it is.

As for the Iranians, well go to Tehran, Dezful, Al-Muhammarah. However, you must go from our side, not theirs. If you want to go from Abadan, you must have our approval, not theirs. You can go to Ahvaz, but only within a radius of 7 kilometers from the city of Ahvaz and several other kilometers from Dezful, which are all within the framework of the designated plan. You can also visit Qasr-e Shirin and Mehran. I am saying that if you want to visit the cities for which you need a permit from our side, we are ready to grant you such a permit as of now. However, if you wish to get a permit from the Iranians, you and the Iranians will have to exert efforts, that is, if they permit you to enter Iran and roam freely about. Then you can look and compare the two situations.

Question: Would it be possible to know who betrayed?

Answer: We consider as a traitor everyone who stands at the side of the Iranian enemy or takes advantage of the war circumstances to carry out military actions. They are few in number. If the number is really worth talking about, then you would have heard us talking about it. We actually talked about them before anybody else because, in spite of my respect for your opinion, our people remain the most important. Therefore, we always tell the truth to our people. What is their number? Five, 10, 15, 20? We told our people about the traitors so that they would know these traitors and so that everybody would understand why these traitors are punished. We do everything under bright light. We do not like the darkness except for that which prevails during black-outs at times of air raids.

As for the number of those who have slackened, be sure that I can recall only four or five of them, not more than five or four draftees who have been entrusted with the honor of fighting. I think that you can understand the significance of this number in such a war. However, we did not forget to tell the Iraqis, men and women, that this number of men have no place in our ranks although their number is so few. The son is an incentive for his father who, if he is shaken, would say: I am afraid that school children will disgarce my son and tell him that your father has slackened in our holy war. If another fighter is also shaken, he will think of his wife, who would have to say that her husband was not a great hero like the husbands of her female Iraqi neighbors. When he thinks of this, he will immediately conquer his weakness so that he can proceed further forward.

Question: In the case of holding negotiations between Iraq and Iran, will you be ready to withdraw from the Arabistan region? Are your conditions for withdrawal from this region the same as the conditions for withdrawal from the other Iranian areas? What are these conditions? Is it possible to annex this region to Iraq or to establish an independent state in it? Will you approve of granting this region autonomy within the state of Iran or within the state of Iraq?

Answer: We have said more than once and on more than one occasion--I think 3, 4 or 5 days after the eruption of fighting--that we have no ambitions in Iranian territory. We still confirm that when we decided to confront Iran after it had attacked us, we harbored no intentions or measures to covet Iranian land. We said and still say that at any time the Iranian officials find themselves in a situation that enables them to recognize our rights, then we will withdraw from their land. Yet if the Arabistanis, the Iranian Kurds, the Baluchis or the Azarbeyjanis want their stand and decision to be different, then this will be another matter. As for us, the Iraqis, this is our decision and this is our stand. It is quite straightforward.

Our rights are clear. Our territories are clear. Our sovereignty over the usurped Arab territories is clear. Iran's territories are clear. Khomeyni is requested to say where his bounderies are and where Iran's map is. So far, he has not said where Iran's boundaries are. Ask him this question. You will find that he will not tell you where Iran's boundaries are. Only then will you see how expansionist he is. Ask the Iranian officials where exactly your borders with Iraq and your borders with the Arabs in the Gulf are in terms of water and land. You will see that they will evade your questions because they want to expand at the expense of the Arabs.

Question: How do you view a formula for a permanent peace and for stabilized relations between you and Iran? What are the guarantees you believe to be enough for the non-return of the tense atmosphere that led to the war between the two countries? Do you prefer bilateral guarantees or regional guarantees within the framework of the Islamic Conference Organization, the nonaligned movement or an international organization like the United Nations?

Answer: We talked in more than one place about the bases which we believe can guarantee good relations or normal relations between us, as Iraqis and Arabs, and Iran. I can repeat them; in other words, I can sum up the basic matters: They should respect our rights and we should respect their rights; we should not make legitimate rights a principle of force; we should respect their security and they should respect our security; we should respect their sovereignty and they should respect ours; and we should respect their chosen raod and they should respect our road in life. But whether we prefer bilateral or regional guarantees or guarantees through the Islamic Conference or international guarantees, we will make our preference known when we come to an agreement.

As for the central issues according to which we can conveive of relations as normal between us and Iran, whether we are Iraqis or Iraqis within the Arabs or part of the nation, I can say that on the basis of these concepts, we prefer to solve our issues with Iran bilaterally and we also prefer to have guarantees on bilaterally respecting these relations. Concerning our rights as Iraqis, this guarantee can be made by Iran if it respects our rights and we respect its rights. Iran should respect the rights of other Arabs, and they should respect Iran's rights. If this is impossible, we may then think of other, wider guarantees.

Question: How would you assess Iraqi-Turkish relations in the wake of the new regime under the leadership of Gen Kenan Evren, particularly after you dispatched an envoy to Ankara at the outset of the Iraqi-Iranian war?

Answer: Relations between us and Turkey were and still are good and positive. We are linked to one another by serious interests and there is a mutual understanding between us on the importance of these interests and of establishing good-neighbor relations between two states, relations which both we and the Turks respect.

Our relations with Turkey in the wake of General Evren's rule are good and we hope that these relations will develop for the better. In fact, the purpose of sending our envoy was to promote relations between us and Turkey for the better. The response from the Turkish officials was good.

Question: Have you received any definite proposals from the nonaligned movement?

Answer: The nonaligned group is attempting to play the so-called good offices role. We encouraged them earlier and are still encouraging them to continue on this path. However, our encouragement is not because we are afraid of or apprehensive about the future, as the Iranians are attempting to say through their statements. Rather, our encouragement comes in response to our national and pan-Arab interests and responsibilities toward world security and their [as received] legitimate interests.

Thus, there have been no specific proposals by the nonaligned group. They proposed the formation of a six-member committee and we have agreed to this. They have to contact the Iranians now. We have dealt likewise with similar endeavors by the Islamic Conference and any other international endeavors. Indeed, we have always supported any international endeavor which seeks to achieve a just peace in the region, bring about a cease-fire and hold direct negotiations between us and Iran in order to establish the two sides' rights.

In reply to another question, the president said: In the course of your other questions you asked about the stand of the Arab states. Well, the Arab states' stand are clear. The bad one says the bad thing and the good one has, as should be done, declared his stand clearly.

In reply to another question, the president said: I shall not cite names when I discuss the Arab states' stands. I have discussed the Arabs in general. If those present here were only Arabs, I would have told them something. However, since there are also foreigners present, I shall not speak ill of the Arabs.

In reply to another question, the president said: The very fact that the Arabs hold meetings is successful in itself. Yet it would be an additional success if these Arabs reached a decision for the better. We have always supported the convocation of organized and periodical meetings of the Arabs, since positive results are bound to be reached in the Arab nation's interest every time such a meeting occurs.

Question: You have dealt with the nuclear installations but you failed, first, to mention the extent of damages sustained by these installations. Is it your intention to manufacture or obtain the nuclear weapons; in other words, the atomic bomb?

Answer: I said that the men who acquired the reactors are also capable of acquiring others if these are destroyed or damaged.

Those who believe that they can dissuade us from dealing with atomic energy within its sound scientific framework are deceiving themselves. We will try to obtain it with our blood for the sake of guaranteeing Iraq's scientific progress within the framework which would enable us to respect international laws and the agreements we signed. We signed the agreement on the nonproliferation of atomic weapons. The Zionist entity, which is crying quite a bit about the alleged Iraqi bomb, should be asked this question: Why is the Israeli atmoic bomb made and against whom is it directed?

Question: Does Iraq intend to sell oil in the free market or does it intend to maintain the Rotterdam system and will the prices change?

Answer: Iraq is part of OPEC and is committed to its resolutions. When Iraq is in a position to resume oil pumping, friends will benefit from this first. Also, friendship will be divided into degrees, such as its degrees during predicaments.

In the course of his answer to a question by a journalist about the Arab Gulf, his excellency said that the true Arabs are with us and the untrue Arabs have declared their stand on the side of their uncles. But we know that the true Arabs' stand is supporting their uncles also.

In reply to another question about studies in schools, the president said: We reopened the elementary and intermediate schools. We are still afraid about our children in elementary school, kindergarten and nursery. When we are convinced that we no longer need the efforts of the students in the secondary schools and colleges in positions other than continuing studies, we will reopen these schools and colleges. These students are being trained in the use of arms. I said this so that you can tell your brothers--the talk here is addressed to the journalists from the Arab Gulf--that the Iraqis will continue to send men to the front forever and until the other side recognizes all our rights.

Question: Your forces have occupied some regions in Iranian territory and advanced to a certain extent. Can you say to what extent you will advance and when you will stop? Will that be at Dezful or any other city? Khorramshahr, or Al-Muhammarah, has fallen and your forces are now besieging Abadan. They are also striking Dezful and Ahvaz. If your intention is to strike Iran's economic and vital lines, it seems that you have humiliated them in terms of oil. Will you be satisfied with hitting the oil interests and occupying the oil resources only, or will you occupy other cities and lands after your occupation of the oil resources?

Answer: I would like to say that we do not want to humiliate Iran because we do not like humiliation, even of our enemy. We do not even exercise it against our enemy, but we are fighting our enemy. Therefore, we are twisting the Iranian rulers' arms. If we find that a certain degree of twisting is not enough, we will add another degree to it. Therefore, there are things other than pipes and refineries. The oilfields are not far away from the Iraqi Army, and many cities are not far from the Iraqi Army. Therefore, we will employ any additional degree of arm twisting we deem necessary in order to forcibly obtain our rights. We will employ all necessary degrees to make the other side say stop.

Question: Mr President, do you intend to take part in the forthcoming Arab summit conference which is scheduled to convene in Amman at the end of this month? Do you believe that the Arab cause could be served by means of a meeting between those who are faithful to the Arab cause and their enemies?

Answer: We are against dividing the Arab nation into axes. We call for the unity of the Arab nation in terms of formula and expression. We are eagerly awaiting the conference to be held on its fixed date in Amman. We will support this conference as we supported the other conferences in order to secure success for this conference. This conference is for the heads of states. It will be quite natural then that the Arab heads of state attend this conference, except perhaps for those whose circumstances prevent them from attending. We will employ every possible means to secure the success of this conference.

Question: There is an agreement between Iraq and France according to which France will supply Iraq with 60 Mirage fighters. What is Your Excellency's opinion and comment on this subject?

Answer: Our relations with France are very good. We respect our commitments toward France and our agreements with the French. The French, for their part, have more than once affirmed that they respect their commitments toward Iraq. So you will see the extra power which we will get from the French fighters. We have defeated the Iranians. We have defeated our enemy before the arrival of the French fighters.

ARMED FORCES GENERAL COMMAND COMMUNIQUES 10-12 NOV

Communique No 133

JN101725 Baghdad Domestic Service in Arabic 1708 GMT 10 Nov 80

[Communique No 133 issued by the Iraqi Armed Forces General Command on 10 November]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate:

Our victorious troops continue to deal painful blows to the enemy, thus asserting their relentless determination and persistence in defense of the dignity and sovereignty of the homeland and nation, based on the support and backing of all of the great Iraqi people: men and women, elderly and young.

This afternoon, the activities of our victorious troops in the various sectors of operations had the following results:

I. Our helicopters attacked enemy units and forces in the northern and southern sectors of the theater of operations, inflicting the following losses on him:

A. Seven vehicles, plus another loaded with supplies, and one tank transporter were destroyed.
B. Two armored personnel carriers were destroyed.
C. Several military positions and command posts were destroyed.
D. Several stockpiles of supplies and fuel tanks were hit and destroyed.

All of our planes returned safely to their bases.

II. Our fighter planes raided enemy military positions east of Ahvaz, scoring direct hits on them.

All of our fighter planes returned safely to the homeland.

III. Two enemy fighter planes were shot down by our ground defenses in the southern sector of the theater of operations. The first was downed near the Karun River bridge used by our units. The other was shot down between Abadan and Al-Muhammarah [Khorramshahr].

IV. Our losses: Three martyrs, two armored personnel carriers and one tank.

[Signed] Armed Forces General Command, 10 November 1980

Communique No 134

JN111033 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic 1020 GMT 11 Nov 80

[Communique No 134 issued by the Iraqi Armed Forces General Command on 11 November 1980]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate:

On behalf of the Arab nation, our people and their valiant armed forces are fighting the racist Persian enemy, who tried to harm the nation and people by his continued efforts to usurp our land and waters and to undermine our dignity.

The great Iraqi Army, the courageous guard of the nation on its eastern border, has dissipated the dreams of the chauvinist Persians and will continue to strike at these aggressors until they succumb to our just demands to regain all our land and waters.

The outcome of our armed forces' activities last night and this morning is as follows:

I. The ground forces:

A. Known enemy losses:

1. Personnel: 76 killed and a large number of wounded. Furthermore, three missile crews were destroyed.
2. Equipment: Six vehicles of various types, two loaded with missiles and one loaded with enemy soldiers, were destroyed; four guns of various calibers were destroyed; one enemy observation post and one fuel depot in Abadan were burned and destroyed.

B. Our losses:

1. Personnel: 11 martyrs.
2. Equipment: One tank, one 106-mm gun and six vehicles of various types.

II. The air forces:

This morning, enemy aircraft raided civilian targets. They were intercepted by our ground resistance, as follows:

A. At 0827 enemy aircraft raided the village of Panjwin in As-Sulaymaniyah Governorate.

B. At 0955, 1050 and 1110, enemy aircraft raided Haj 'Umran village in Irbil Governorate.

C. Our ground resistance shot down two planes, which were seen going down ablaze inside the Iranian border in the area adjacent to Haj 'Umran.

[Signed] The Armed Forces General Command, 11 November 1980

Communique No 135

JN121143 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic 1112 GMT 12 Nov 80

[Communique No 135 issued by the Iraqi Armed Forces General Command on 12 November 1980]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate:

The racist Persians and their rotten quack Khomeyni, as well as their imperialist overlords, hope, by their aggression against our people and nation, to impede our great revolution's triumphant march and preoccupy it, thus preventing it from carrying out its national and pan-Arab duties. Those charlatans have forgotten that the noble nation and people can mobilize all of their actual and potential energies when sovereignty and dignity are being tested. The battle that our people and their armed forces are waging with enthusiasm and efficiency will continue until the unjust enemy succumbs to our legitimate rights and sovereignty over our land and waters.

The outcome of our armed forces' activities in the operational sectors from yesterday afternoon until this morning is as follows:

I. The ground forces:

A. Known enemy losses:

1. Personnel: 32 killed and a large number of wounded.
2. Equipment: Five vehicles were burned and destroyed, two loaded with supplies and one loaded with fuel; one serviceable vehicle was captured; one helicopter was destroyed and another was hit in the northern sector; a third helicopter was shot down in the southern sector of the theater of operations; two guns were destroyed and a third serviceable gun was captured; seven fortified defensive positions were destroyed, four in Abadan; two mortars and one tube launcher were destroyed; three observation posts were destroyed; several supply dumps were blown up and destroyed and one fuel reservoir was destroyed in Abadan.

B. Our losses:

1. Personnel: Eight martyrs.
2. Equipment: Five vehicles of various types and three carriers were destroyed.

II. The air forces:

Yesterday afternoon and this morning, enemy aircraft raided civilian targets and residential areas. They were intercepted by our ground resistance, as follows:

A. At 1140 yesterday, 11 November 1980, enemy aircraft raided civilian targets in Maysan Governorate.

B. At 1305 yesterday, enemy aircraft raided the Al-Faw area in Al-Basrah Governorate, aiming at civilian installations.

C. At 0915, 0945 and 1025 today, 12 November 1980, enemy aircraft raided civilian targets and residential areas in (Mawt) and Karmat in As-Sulaymaniyah Governorate.

D. At 0955 today enemy aircraft raided civilian installations in Maysan Governorate.

E. Our losses in the enemy raids:

1. Three persons were wounded in the village of Al-Musharrah in Maysan Governorate and one person was wounded in As-Sulaymaniyah. All are civilians.
2. Damage to some civilian installations and several private cars.

F. One enemy fighter plane was shot down yesterday afternoon. It was seen going down in flames across the Shatt al'-Arab, between Khosrowabad and Abadan.

[Signed] The Armed Forces General Command, 12 November 1980

TARIQ 'AZIZ MEETS WITH CPSU OFFICIALS

JN112305 Baghdad Domestic Service in Arabic 2100 GMT 11 Nov 80

[Text] Tariq 'Aziz, personal envoy of President Saddam Husayn, Revolution Command Council member and deputy prime minister, met in Moscow today with Boris Ponomarev, candidate member of the politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Dr Maltsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee.

During the meeting, the two sides discussed Iraqi-Soviet relations and the current situation.

AL-ASAD SENDS CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE TO REAGAN

JN091731 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1615 GMT 9 Nov 80

["Text" of cable of congratulations from Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad to U.S. President-elect Ronald Reagan--date not given]

[Text] On the occasion of your success in the U.S. presidential elections, I would like to send you my congratulations on this success, which reflected the U.S. voters' confidence in you.

I hope that the period of your presidency will be an opening for work for international peace based on justice, equality and cooperation. I hope that you will be successful in understanding the extent of the injustice done to the Palestinian Arab people, who have been deprived of all of their basic and inalienable national rights for more than 30 years, and in understanding the extent of [word indistinct] against the rights of sovereignty of the Arab states whose lands have been occupied by force and who are still suffering from continued occupation, the disavowal of the rights of the Arab people, their displacement and the continued annexation of their lands despite all the UN resolutions and those of the world community which call for the establishment of the rights and an end to the occupation.

The foundations upon which the U.S. people built their independence and their liberation, the human principles they advocated and the status of the United States as a superpower which shoulders great responsibilities in establishing world peace and security give hope that the United States' role will agree with these principles and that it will be an effective factor in reaching a comprehensive peace really based on justice and fairness.

Please accept my wishes for your good health and success.

AL-ASAD SPEECH COVERS IRAQ-IRAN WAR, MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

JN071919 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1618 GMT 7 Nov 80

["Text" of speech delivered by Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad on 7 November at a tactical exercise conducted by a brigade of revolution youth fighters--recorded]

[Excerpts] [applause] Youth, O youth, O sons and daughters: Once again I meet with you. Once again I meet with the vanguards of the youth, the vanguards of our people, in their training camps. I meet with them at a time when they are conducting their final exercise and the closing project in their advance training. [applause]

Once again, I witness the great skills you are displaying, skills that you have gained in a relatively short time. At the same time I can witness the high morale you are showing, which as I have learned, has been with you throughout the training course. This is something that caused you to struggle with great effort to win the majority of the mental and physical battles that were prepared for you by your instructors and advisors and by our great party: the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party. [applause]

You, young people, are responsible for facing any difficulties that may intercept our march, the march of our homeland, the march of progress, our work, success and triumph, regardless of the scope and kind of these difficulties. [applause] Young people, unless we confront the difficulties that might intercept our march with firmness and strength, the march of the homeland may slow down or even go backward. This is actually what the suspicious reaction, led by the Muslim Brotherhood gang, has been trying to achieve in the last few months.

The suspicious reaction and the agent Muslim Brotherhood gang have tried to place this homeland, its realities, its interests and hopes, under the feet of the imperialist and Zionist plans and interests. However, this gang has collapsed, due to your vigilance, solidarity and strikes. It collapsed because of our people's alertness and because of their continuous and strong blows, which are proportional to their needs and future aspirations. [applause]

The imperialist-Zionist pact pinned great hopes on its agents in the Muslim Brotherhood gangs. Yet the agents remain agents. They were quickly defeated and have collapsed, together with their overlords. Hence came the great shock to the parties of the pact. The shock was truly great, as great as the size of the hopes that they placed in their agents among the reactionaries and the Muslim Brotherhood members. [applause]

Young people, the masses of our people expelled the Muslim Brotherhood gang because they wanted to preserve this homeland and to keep it strong and noble. The masses of our people expelled the Muslim Brotherhood gang because we wanted to preserve our national Arab belonging. Our people expelled the agent Muslim Brotherhood gang because we wanted to preserve Islam and to elevate its status. [applause] These gangs, the Muslim Brotherhood gangs, are, above all else, a great danger to Islam, because they undertake activities with no connection to Islam. In the name of Islam, these gangs do things that oppose Islamic teaching. In the name of Islam, they commit everything that is prohibited by Islam. In the name of Islam, the Muslim Brotherhood gangs collaborate with a foreigners and with the enemies of the homeland abroad. In the name of Islam, the Muslim Brotherhood gangs commit the ugliest and most heinous crimes, such as murders, assassinations, robbery and many other similar and despicable acts. In the name of Islam, they distort and falsify Islamic teaching. There could be no more dangerous people to Islam than the agent Muslim Brotherhood gangs.

So, in order to prevent the distortion and falsification of Islam and in order to hoist the banners of Islam high, we will continue to strike without mercy at the agent Muslim Brotherhood gangs. [applause]

Young people, the chain of internal plotting that you have crushed must be considered within the framework of what is taking place in this area. For, in the final analysis, these things are related to the Arab nation and to its goals, hopes and principles.

That which is taking place on the borders between Iraq and Iran is very sad. Iraq is an Arab country and comprises an Arab people. Our people are Iraq's people and its people are ours. Iraq's sons are ours. Iraq's army is our army and its fate is ours. This is Iraq on one side. On the other side, there is Iran, which is a neighboring country to the Arab nation. An Islamic popular revolution erupted in Iran that is deeply linked with the masses' issues and with the issues of the Arab struggle.

There used to be a dictatorial imperial regime in Iran that was hostile to the Arab nation. This regime used to collaborate with Israel. It was a huge military and political base in this strategic area, working seriously to implement the designs of world imperialism. It was a dictatorial imperial regime with expansionist designs. That is why it was continued, constant and increasing danger to the Arab nation and the Arab homeland. This was the situation in Iran.

A popular revolution was then begun in Iran, under the slogan of Islam, to turn matters upside down. The revolution toppled the shah and abrogated foreign and imperialist ties. It got rid of foreign bases.

It also expelled imperialist influence and hegemony. It ruptured all of its relations with Israel, by which I mean all of Iran's previous relations with Israel. It moved to assume its position in the nonaligned group. It delcared its complete support for the Jerusalem issue and that of Palestine and the other occupied Arab territories. The revolution raised the slogan of the liberation of Jerusalem, Palestine and the occupied Arab territories.

This revolution had had a great and positive effect on the struggle movement on the regional and world levels. It is introducing important changes in the strategic balance, with all that is meant by the word strategic, on both the regional and world levels. It is also standing beside the Arabs, unhesitatingly, in their efforts to liberate our occupied territories and to restore the Palestinian people's rights. This is what the situation in Iran was, and what is has now become. Is it logical then that we do not rejoice at this revolution's victory? Is it logical that we do not care for its continuation?

In light of this concept the Arab masses considered the victory of the popular revolution in Iran as a victory for them. In light of this concept, in light of these concepts, in light of what the Islamic popular revolution in Iran has achieved, in light of the slogans it has raised, in light of what it has called for, in light of its declared stands and the continuous war it launched relentlessly against imperialism, together with all of its bases and agents, in light of all of this, we and the Arab masses everywhere considered the revolution's victory to be a victory for them.

In light of this many Arabs--governments, parties and organizations, both national and pan-Arab--established relations of friendship and cooperation with this revolution. Some of them had relations with this revolution before it took place and others established relations with it after it had broken out and succeeded. Isn't it our right to ask why this revolution is attack? Why was war suddenly launched against this revolution? Given the large, broad meanings of this revolution and the huge gains achieved for us, the Arabs, by this revolution, isn't it our duty to ask why war was launched against this revolution? If the matter is related to Arab rights, why weren't we consulated? Aren't we Arabs? Aren't we concerned with every Arab right? If the matter is related to Arab rights, why didn't we hold consultations and why didn't we meet? We in this country do not demand nor hold that any Arab country anywhere should concede to any Arab right, but we say that no Arab should unilaterally impose a war on the Arabs unless the enemy is common or unless we are in a state of self-defense. If the matter were related to Arab rights, why didn't we hold consultations, especially since the matter concerns a friendly revolution, in which we have real and deep interests? Why weren't we consulted?

None of the Arabs except agents have dealt unilaterally with the common enemy, Israel, about which no two Arab citizens differ--and here I put all agents outside the circle of Arab citizens. Tens and even hundreds of official and popular meetings have been held from 1948 til not to deal with the issues and problems of our struggle with Israel. Consequently, if we do not act unilaterally when dealing with a common enemy and hold meetings and discussions instead, how can we do so when the matter is not related to a common enemy, not even to an enemy at all, but to a friend and an ally? Shouldn't we have met to study the matter? We neither met nor discussed, studied or exchanged opinions, even by correspondence. We in Syria and in the Arab homeland generally were just as surprised by the declaration of war against Iran as were the citizens in Iran. Meanwhile, they say that the issue is an Arab issue.

If the matter is related to Arab rights, then they are our rights, whether they are national, regional or pan-Arab. We should have met and spoken of the justifications--if they existed--whether they are Arab, national or pan-Arab. Does anyone think that our brothers in Iraq do not realize these simple facts--that Arab rights must be dealt with by the Arabs, that the Iranian revolution is important to our struggle with Israel--or that they do not see the gravity of what has happened? Does anyone think that he who now rules Iraq does not understand these simple facts? Of course not.

As long as they understand these simple facts and as long as we have not met or discussed things, the matter is confirmed and the facts are established beyond any doubt. These facts are: the Arab interest, Arab issues and Arab hopes have no positive relationship to this war. Arab issues are absolutely not linked with this war. Otherwise, we would have met, discussed and made decisions together.

Let us presume that there are Arab rights upon which we differ with Iran. Does this dictate that we immediately wage war? Wasn't it possible and, in fact, a duty to try methods other than war? Wasn't it possible to exercise some political action and to exert some political effort? Wouldn't it have been better and a duty to our interests as Arabs to resort to political action, with the hope of solving existing problems with Iran? We would thus gain in all aspects of our issues, because we would be gaining Iran as well, particularly since the atmosphere existing between the Arabs and Iran encourages us to resort to political action to solve all pending issues or those that could be pending issues or those that could be pending between us and Iran.

Another matter. Is it the right of any Arab or, in other words, is any Arab permitted to cause the Arabs to lose a power that is strong in military, economic and political resources, such as Iran? It is a big power and it is our neighbor and stands on our borders. This power is siding with us and is ready to carry out the struggle on our side, including the military struggle against the Israeli aggression. This is being repeated day and night by those responsible for the revolution in Iran. [applause]

Let us assume that the border dispute between us and Iran is a significant dispute. But is it so pressing that we must wage war against Iran at this particular time? Is it so pressing that we must erupt in a war that overshadows our other important issues or our most important pan-Arab issues?

How can we view the border issues? Is it right to deal with the border dispute at the expense of the struggle for survival? In that case, where are the Arab states that have no border disputes? If we take a look at the Arab homeland, from the extreme east to the extreme west, we can hardly find an Arab state with no border disputes. If every Arab state experiencing border disputes declares war, then the big would dominate the small, the Palestine issue-- the primary Arab issue--would have tragically ended and Israel would become the undisputed master of this area. Don't they realize this? How happy must be Israel now. Iraq, the beloved Arab country, has left the circle of the Arab-Israeli struggle for a long time. As a result of this war, Iraq has left the circle of struggle between the Arabs and Israel for what will not be a short period. This is in addition to the killing and the destruction that is inflicted the military and economic situation in fraternal Iraq.

After the revolution we considered Iran an ally and expected it to support us to a great extent. We expected it to participate seriously in the struggle against the Israeli aggression. Iran and its revolution, as a result of the war, are no longer in a position that permits us to depend upon its support. If Iran supports us now, it would not be as effective and important, under the circumstances. How happy Israel is! How must Israel rejoice!

The Palestine issue, as a result of this war, has retreated from an advance to a rear position. This is a fact that we must admit. World interest in this issue has retreated. Its world status has retreated from an advance position to a backward position. Israel is now raising its voice high before the entire world. Israel and its representatives are saying on many international occasions: How naive are those who believed that Israel and the Israeli-Arab dispute were the causes for the problems and explosions in the Middle East. This is the material evidence. The cause of instability, as the Israelis are saying now, is the existing problems between the area's countries and those ruling the area. Once again I say how happy Israel must be.

What is really strange is that our brothers in Iraq, those who are now ruling Iraq, are the same people who signed the 1975 treaty with Iran, the same ones who abrogate this treaty now. In 1975, when they signed the treaty with the shah of Iran, they held celebrations in every district of Iraq. They held big celebrations and festivals throughout Iraq. They considered this treaty as a great victory and success. Now they abrogate this treaty. Never mind. Perhaps they were not serious in what they said. But if they want to abrogate the treaty, have they chosen the right time? Have they chosen the right moment? Have they chosen the right method? Have they consulted with any of the Arabs? They have done none of this?

Comrades, I swear by God that had the matter been related to the Iraqi people, we would never have hesitated even a moment in siding with them, hand to hand with our people in Iraq. [applause] Had the war been a matter of the Iraqi people, there would have been no such questions. This is because the people's decision is never incorrect. Had the decision been that of the Iraqi people this war would have never taken place, because the Iraqi people, had they been the decision maker, would have found a suitable solution for every problem that has arisen and that will arise with Iran or with others. Had the matter been related to the Iraqi land, to the Iraqi people, we would have sided with them and fought together in every direction. But Iraq and its people are not related to the war. May God curse imperialism and colonialism, because they are the source of every ordeal. [applause]

Our stands and principles in Syria are being defined in light of Arab interests, objectives and principles and nothing else. This war does not serve Arab principles, objectives and interests. It is a war serving non-Arabs and is against Arab principles, interests, values and objectives. [applause]

Accordingly, we had to be against this war. I mean against it in the very sense of the word. But what is tying our hands and preventing us from acting accordingly is the dear Iraqi soldier and the beloved Iraqi citizen, who, against their will, are the fuel for the battle, the fuel for the oppressive battle against the Iraqi and Iranian peoples alike. [applause]

I know in advance, dear sons and daughters, that they will reply tomorrow in their papers and over their radios under the headline "Answer to Questions," but they cannot answer any questions because their answers will only be a group of insults, curses and bad words, none of which do any good. They will be a group of bad words that will not spare the blood of the Iraqi citizen and soldier, nor achieve victory nor restore rights or glory. At any rate, it will not drag us into the trap of imperialist plots. We will not be led into a war that is against the Arabs and their objectives and principles. [applause]

Those who say that they are fighting in the name of an on behalf of the Arabs should come to us, present their justifications and convince us that this war is being waged for the Arabs' sake. In that case, for every action there would be a reaction. But they will not be able to convince us, because they have not convinced of any of the words they utter. [applause]

INFORMATION MINISTER DISCUSSES SYRIAN-SOVIET TREATY

JN092003 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1615 GMT 9 Nov 80

[Excerpts] In his interview which will appear in the English-language magazine MONDAY MORNING tomorrow, Information Minister Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad pointed out that provisions of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between Syria and the Soviet Union are accurate and clear. The provisions assert that the two countries' efforts will center on combating Zionist tools and ideology.

The treaty's provisions, the information minister added, have clearly provided for promoting Syria's defensive capability. In other words, Syria will be in a better position and will possess a larger capability while confronting the continued Israeli occupation of the Arab land and the boundless U.S. aid to the Israeli expansionist, aggressive and racist trend. The provisions also clearly stipulated that the two countries will hold immediate contacts to coordinate stands and joint cooperation should circumstances emerge threatening the security or the peace of either one in order to eliminate the danger and restore peace.

The minister said that all these points, in addition to what the other provisions have stipulated, constitute an assurance of the Soviet Union's support to fend off any danger and give confidence in the future. All these points also assert that any aggression to which Syria might be exposed will not be faced by Syria separately in the Arab arena and also in the international arena.

The minister asserted that boosting Syria's defense capabilities would mean boosting the Arabs' intrinsic power in their fateful pan-Arab battle. He said that the friendly Soviet Union's firm and strong support for our just struggle is a real gain to the Arab nation which is to be added to the Arab nation's intrinsic capabilities in its battle in defense of the pan-Arab existence and for the sake of liberating the occupied Arab territories.

He added: The battle does actually exist between us and the Israeli occupation forces. It is a continuous battle until every inch of occupied Arab territory is liberated. Therefore, the treaty is a positive factor, strengthening our capability to confront and wrest victory. Consequently, the treaty was concluded to confront the continued imperialist-Zionist aggression against the Arab nation and not against a provocative act, because the aggression does exist. Therefore, the treaty was concluded to confront this aggression.

Asked about Syria's reaction should Israel annex the Golan Heights, the minister said: Our confrontation of this matter is part of our confrontation of the expansionist and aggression nature of Israel. He added: We have informed the UN secretary general of our viewpoint--that we reserve our full right to take any measure and to embark upon any step to guarantee our rights in our land and our right to liberate every occupied atom of Arab soil.

In his interview, the minister alluded to the merger march between the two fraternal countries--Syria and Libya--asserting that work for the sake of implementing the Tripoli declaration on the establishment of merger unity between Syria and Libya is seriously underway.

We are awaiting the arrival of our Libyan brothers in Damascus to discuss the executive formula of the establishment of the unitary state. He added: We are, together, keen to achieve a strong edifice capable of meeting the aspirations of our masses.

Alluding to the Iraqi-Iranian war, the minister asserted that it is unfair to our people in Iraq to name the war waged by Saddam Husayn an Iraqi war against Iran. It is actually, and as described by the Iraqi media, Saddam's war against the Islamic revolution in Iran. It is a mad war launched by Saddam Husayn against the Iraqi people's interest in the first place and mainly against the Palestinian cause and in service and on behalf of U.S. imperialism.

The United States has made several attempts to topple the Iranian revolution--and the Tabas desert operation was not the first and last--with the aim of returning the policy, economy and political thoughts of the shah to Iran and reinstating Iran as a U.S. hammer threatening the Arab Gulf and erecting a bridge of military alliance with Israel compatible with the strategic interests of Zionism and imperialism in the Arab homeland and the Middle East.

The Camp David agreements have expelled Egypt, with its qualitative and quantitative weight, from the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Saddam camp has in effect removed Iraq from the arena of the Arab-Israeli conflict for many years to come. This secures a dear goal which has been thought and dreamed of by the United States and Israel.

The destruction of Iranian oil establishments at a time when the Islamic revolution of Iran considers the Jerusalem issue a matter of holy jihad means expelling Iraq, [as heard] from the conflict and preventing the state supporting the Arab struggle from being able to give any aid to the Arabs in their battle against Israel and the United States. The Saddam war against the Islamic revolution of Iran has come to achieve a strategic goal which has been tackled by all Zionist thinkers since the inception of the State of Israel. It is the need for Israel's alliance with Iran and fomenting Persian nationalism in Iran. If that fails, Iran will adopt a negative role toward the Arabs. [sentence as heard]

The Zionist goal was achieved during the shah's rule. Iran was a super military power allied to the Zionist aggression. Under the Islamic revolution, Iran moved to the Arab trench in confronting Zionist. The Saddam war has come to again push Iran into the lap of U.S. imperialism and to revive Persian nationalism after having been silenced by the Islamic revolution. The war has come to create deep-rooted psychological scars toward the Arabs in the Iranian people due to the crazy war launched by Saddam against Iran. These are the results and the U.S. goals sought in the Saddam war.

These goals have been established, but there are other goals of no less importance, particularly solving the crisis of economic stagnation in the United States and the West. Because of this, we in Syria have denounced the Saddam war against Iran. We have considered it a war in which only the United States and Israel have an interest. We have considered it a war against the Iraqi and Iranian peoples.

The information minister referred to the situation in Lebanon. He stressed that we support all that protects Lebanon's unity and security and subscribes to its prosperity and stability. He explained that we have a principled and firm stand on the happenings in Lebanon. This stand stresses Lebanon's unity, Arabism and its singular relation with Syria. We hope that all the sincere people in Lebanon will guard Lebanon's unity, legitimacy and stability because the grave danger stems from silence and connivance concerning any partition act and ignoring any step which might diminish the state's prestige and the dignity of legitimacy.

Syria stands firmly by Lebanon's unity, Arabism, independence and prosperity. It reiterates its firm stand against everything which contradicts Lebanon's unity, security and stability. This must be clear to all so that things might be clearly understood and so that nobody will miscalculate.

If we understand the nature of the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine, we will expect this entity to launch aggressions whenever it has the opportunity and to expand when it finds it possible. As long as the expansionist and racist trend of the Zionist entity is not destroyed, the tension in the region will continue and the Middle East situation will continually be exlosive.

We in Syria will do our best, within our capabilities, to continually confront any Israeli aggression against any Arab spot because Israeli aggression against any part of the Arab land is an aggression against the entire Arab nation which must be confronted with all of our nation's potentials and means.

ECONOMIC DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR TALKS IN GDR

JN091443 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1215 GMT 9 Nov 80

[Text] 'Abd al-Qadir Qaddurah, deputy prime minister for economic affairs, left Damascus this morning for the GDR on an official visit of several days. He will head the Syrian Arab delegation to the meetings of the joint GDR-Syrian economic committee.

Before leaving the deputy prime minister for economic affairs made a statement in which he said: This visit is being made to participate in the meetings of the joint GDR-Syrian economic committee for economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

Qaddurah added: President Hafiz al-Asad has asked me to convey his greetings to Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council. The president also gave directions to me on the outlines of the talks we will hold. We fully trust that these talks will achieve success for both friendly peoples. especially since these meetings come at a time when Syria has taken a qualitative step forward by signing the friendship and cooperation treaty with the friendly Soviet Union.

The deputy prime minister also said: I am also conveying the greetings of the Syrian Government, the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and the masses of our people to Chairman Honecker, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the friendly German people.

CPSU DELEGATION LEAVES DAMASCUS 9 NOV

JN091808 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1615 GMT 9 Nov 80

[Text] Damascus--The CPSU delegation led by Karen Brutents, deputy chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, left Damascus this morning following a 1-week visit which took place in response to an invitation by the Ba'th Party National Command.

During the visit Mr Brutents had meetings with a number of Ba'th Party command officials on strengthening and developing the existing relations between the two parties in the service of the two friendly peoples.

ALGERIA

ASH-SHA'B: ELECTION WILL NOT CHANGE U.S. POLICY

LD101325 Algiers ASH-SHA'B in Arabic 6 Nov 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Two Sides of the Same Coin"]

[Text] Reagan has won and Carter has lost by a big margin unusual in the history of U.S. presidential elections but this quantitative difference does not mean that there is a great difference between the winning president and the loser.

The voters' judgement of Carter was severe. The ordinary U.S. citizen has been burdened by inflation, high taxation, price increases and the growing armies of unemployed. Also U.S. prestige abroad has been seriously affected as a result of grave errors in U.S. foreign policy.

With regard to U.S. policy in the Middle East and Arab Issues Reagan's victory will not mean, as some would imagine, a victory for Israel. This notion gives the wrong impression that Carter's presence in the White House was a loss for Israel while established material facts prove that the military and economic aid which Israel received during Carter's term exceeded all the aid Israel received during the previous 30 years. Which means that Carter's loss is in no way a loss for the Palestine problem, as some Arabs would imagine. These Arabs wagered on Carter remaining in the White House and supported him allegedly because he was the first American President to speak about the "Palestinian people's rights" despite the fact that all that Carter said about Palestinian rights was no more than ambiguous phrases that mean nothing specific whereas his committment to supporting the Zionist state which is occupying the territories of others was clear and specific and his hostility to the PLO was also clear and specific. The same thing goes for his successor Reagan, for both Carter and Reagan are one in the policy toward Palestine, the Arabs and Israel. In fact, all U.S. presidents are the same in their hostility to the Palestinian people and to all the just Arab causes. They are all the same in protecting Israel and supporting it as it commits aggression and expands at the expense of the Palestinian people and the Arab and Islamic world's rights in Jerusalem. They are all the same in expanding U.S. plundering of Arab and Islamic wealth and Third World wealth in general.

They are all essentially equal in their attitude toward Israel, Palestine and the Arabs with differences in methods of operating but not on objectives for the simple reason that the American president, any American president, is not the one who decides and plans U.S. policy. There are certain forces within U.S. society, the foremost of which what is known as the Zionist lobby, that plan. decide and direct U.S. policy internally and externally. These pressure forces always remain in the same influential positions regardless of which U.S. president comes to the White House. These forces will continue to direct U.S. policies in a direction hostile to the Palestinian people and the Arab and Islamic world's rights until a change occurs in the policies and attitudes of the Arab and Islamic countries in a manner that would bring actual pressure to bear on the vital and ramified U.S. interests in the Arab and Islamic world. Unless this happens there will be no change whatsoever in U.S. policy in favor of the Palestinian people.

BEGIN INTERVIEWED ON NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION

TA101632 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 10 Nov 80 p 2

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Menahem Begin by columnist and caricaturist Ra'anan Lurie, in Jerusalem prior to Begin's departure for the United States]

[Excerpts] Prime Minister Menahem Begin expressed his hope for fruitful cooperation with the next Washington administration. His hope is based on President-elect Ronald Reagan's statements ("Israel is a strategic asset...The PLO is a terrorist organization") as well as declarations by his running mate, George Bush ("the PLO--an international Ku Klux Klan").

Begin: I am willingly accepting these declarations, and I think that they were sincere. First and foremost, we are the allies of the United States and the free world--loyal allies--and thus we expect reciprocity on the part of the free world and the United States. We are also the most stable allies as a result of our democratic regime. A situation cannot occur in Israel whereby one bullet can change the entire situation. In a democracy voters go to the polls and freely elect their leaders, without any fears. Therefore, objectively speaking, we are not only reliable allies but also the most reliable country in the entire Middle East.

Luri: Would you be ready to send Israeli troops to conduct joint maneuvers with U.S. soldiers?

Begin: As you know, the regime in Israel is parliamentary rather than presidential. Therefore, I can only say that if the United States took such an initiative I would submit it to the Cabinet for its discussion and decision. However, until the government has made up its mind I would like to express my primate opinion. It is a good idea.

Lurie: President-elect Reagan believes that a solution can be found to the West Bank by cooperating with Jordan. This opinion emerged in an interview I conducted with him.

Begin: We signed the Camp David accords. I am certain that upon his inauguration President-elect Reagan will do his best to implement the U.S. commitments included in the Camp David accords and the appended messages. Jordan has so far refused to join the peace efforts. If it agrees to do so we will sit together around the negotiating table.

Lurie: The leader of the opposition party, Shim'on Peres, believes that King Husayn will ultimately join the peace process.

Begin: Peres is entitled to his own views. However, from the man himself--that is to say, from King Husayn's declarations--we heard exactly the opposite: He is not ready to join the Camp David accords and the discussions related to these accords. Therefore, Peres is making unilateral declarations.

Lurie: Is it true that Chief of Staff Lt Gen Refa'el Eytan launched attacks in southern Lebanon without receiving your approval?

Begin: No. This would not be possible. This would be illegal.

Lurie: Did Israel's assistance to the Kurds stem from moral or practical motives?

Begin: It was moral support for a just cause. To our regret, the agreement reached in 1975 between the Iranian shah and the Iraqis halted the process. However, we wanted to help a nation that was fighting for its autonomy.

Lurie: The European press claims that Israel aircraft bombed the nuclear reactor in Iraq. Could you comment on this?

Begin: It is not true.

Lurie: Certain European leaders are faced with a dilemma because you said--please correct me if I am wrong--that anti-Semitism was identical to an anti-Israeli policy.

Begin: No, I did not say such a thing. I said that it was impossible to distinguish between anti-Israeli attitudes, anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. Even if one "objectively" incites against the Jewish state the outcome is automatic instigation against the Jewish people. This is what I said. I have never accused any European government of looking forward to horrors such as the one that occurred in Paris.

CEAUSESCU ASKS BEGIN TO PREVENT MAYORS' EXPULSION

TA111306 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1105 GMT 11 Nov 80

[Text] Romanian President Ceausescu has appealed to Prime Minister Begin to prevent the deportation of Judaea and Samaria mayors. Arye Gus gives the details:

President Ceausescu's request was addressed to Prime Minister Begin about 10 days ago via the Romanian ambassador here. In his message which bears a personal tone, the Romanian president asks the prime minister to prevent the expulsion of the Hebron Hills mayors and to return them to their homes. The prime minister answered the Romanian president as follows: I cannot intervene in this affair because it is going through the legal process.

As far as is known, this is the first appeal by a foreign leader to Israel on behalf of the Hebron Hills mayors. Unofficially, the Americans applied strong pressures on Israel to cancel the deportation of Fahd al-Qawasimi and Muhammad Milhim. This matter was also raised by Interior Minister Burg when he visited the United States a few weeks ago. Reports about official intervention by other countries were denied. Among other things, no secret activity on the Vatican's part--as reported by east Jerusalem's AL-FAJR this morning--is known. Other rumors spread by the deportees, relatives have also been denied. According to these rumors President as-Sadat pleaded with President Navon to act on behalf of the deportees during the latter's visit to Egypt.

Jerusalem radio has now learned that this issue was not raised at all during the Israeli president's visit in Egypt. To date there has not been a direct appeal by the deportees or their relatives to the president. In any case it is not altogether clear whether the president has the authority to intervene in this matter and exercise his right of amnesty.

At the same time, efforts to bring international pressure to bear on Israel continue abroad. Leftist and Palestinian circles were ready to organize demonstrations against the expulsion during Mr Begin's current visit to the United States but they were advised by elements in Israel that this is not the right time for this. The expulsion issue will be raised in international conferences organized by these circles throughout the world. These include, for example, a convention of democratic jurists in Malta next month and a convention of Palestinian jurists to be held in Washington soon.

CHAD

REPORTAGE ON FIGHTING IN NDJAMENA, LIBYAN ROLE

10 Nov Report

AB101710 Paris AFP in French 1413 GMT 10 Nov 80

[Text] Paris, 10 Nov (AFP)--There are no signs of the arrival of Libyan reinforcements in the Chadian capital of Ndjamena, well informed French sources disclosed on Monday. The same sources explain that the part of the Chadian capital occupied by Mr Hissein Habre's FAN [Northern Armed Forces] was bombed by Tupolev 22-aircraft on 5 and 7 November. The fighting in Ndjamena is still continuing. On 5 and 6 November, the FAN attempted an offensive in the heart of the city, but it was countered by the government forces of Mr Goukouni Oueddei, the same sources went on. For their part, the government forces have failed in their attempt to block the supply of rations and fuel to the FAN from Kousseri (northern Cameroon). On the other hand, the sources have not been able to give details of the exact number of Libyans cooperating with Mr Goukouni Oueddei in Chad.

11 Nov Report

AB111730 Paris AFP in English 1647 GMT 11 Nov 80

[Text] Yaounde, 11 Nov (AFP)--Bombardment was going on today north of Ndjamena, where the Sabangani District, headquarters of northern forces Chief Hissein Habre, was yesterday the target of the heavy artillery of supporters of Goukouni ueddei, head of the Chad Transitional National Union Government. Also involved in yesterday's attack was a rocket-firing aircraft. A helicopter meanwhile dropped leaflets saying that Mr Habre was visiting his leaders in occupied Palestine to receive instructions. An informed source said however that Mr Habre was in Ndjamena. Pro-Habre Chad radio said last night that Libyan troops had been routed Sunday at Um-Shabuba and Kalail. Goukouni sources however said that Abeche, Mr Habre's main rear base, had been evacuated by Habrist forces, with Oueddei forces in the vicinity.

Pact With Libya

AB111415 Paris AFP in English 1206 GMT 11 Nov 80

[By Jean-Marie Wetzel]

[Excerpt] Yaounde, Cameroon, 11 Nov (A FP)--President Goukouni Oueddei, leader of one of the two factions fighting for control of war-torn neighboring Chad, called in Libyan troops and planes early in October under a recently signed aid pact, a well-informed sources said here today. The president, whose forces have been fighting supporters of rebel Defense Minister Hissein Habre in the Chadian capital, Ndjamena, since March, appealed to the Libyans after certain northern towns, in particular Faya-Largeau, went over to Mr Habre, the source added. The large number of desertions from the president's forces and the way Mr Habre's supporters were nibbling at his positions in Ndjamena also prompted him to make the move, the source said. Informed sources said initial Libyan aid came in the form of unmarked Tupolev 22-planes, which are thought to have bombed Mr Habre's positions in Ndjamena between October 9 and 13. These raids have been resumed in recent days. Libyan troops, who arrived by plane at Douguia airstrip, 50 kms (30 miles) north of Ndjamena, went into action on October 20. Their activities were centered mainly on an area on the east of the capital's airport, which is still held by the president's supporters, the sources said. Mr. Habre's forces, who shortly after the battle presented five Libyan prisoners to the world's press, said about 100 Libyans had been killed in the action. Informed circles here meanwhile said that Mr Goukouni's forces, with help from Libyan tanks, retook those areas in the north that had gone over to Mr Habre.

SOUTH AFRICA

PRIME MINISTER WELCOMES PROPOSAL FOR DIALOGUE WITH OAU

LD111120 Johannesburg International Service in English 0300 GMT 11 Nov 80

[Text] The South African prime minister, Mr P.W. Botha, has confirmed that he has received a telegram from the current chairman of the Organization of African Unity, President Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone, concerning dialogue with South Africa. Mr Botha said he welcomed the principle of dialogue and he revealed that he had written to president Stevens in answer to the telegram.

In an interview in London, President Stevens said he would make every effort to make a breakthrough in relations with South Africa by means of dialogue. He said that in this capacity as chairman of the OAU he would be prepared to do anything to promote stability in Africa.

ZIMBABWE

MUGABE ADDRESSES NATION ON VIOLENCE IN BULAWAYO

LD101932 Salisbury Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 10 Nov 80

[Speech to the nation by Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe--live or recorded]

[Text] Good evening, comrades and countrymen. I am sure all of you are aware of the grave situation now obtaining in several townships of Bulawayo. Since yesterday incidents of murder, arson, robbery, assault, intimidation and general lawlessness have been perpetrated by misguided and politically motivated armed hooligans and political malcontents. This morning I was briefed in detail by the several ministers who attended and addressed rallies in Bulawayo over the weekend, to one of which organized unruly ZAPU mobs were transported by bus and other vehicles with the clear intention to unlawfully disrupt that meeting. The police, who must be complimented for their action, managed to control what could have been a bloodier situation than it finally was.

Yesterday later in the day some undisciplined elements of ZIPRA [Zimbabwe People's Liberation Army] in (Entumbane) started shelling and firing on a ZANLA [Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army] cantonment. A clash between the two forces then ensued and from that moment on armed bands roamed the western townships, committing murder, arson, assault, robbery and acts of intimidation. The detailed report before me from both the police and the army is to the effect that the situation has not yet improved.

My government has a clear and unshakable responsibility in the circumstances to act and act decisively in full protection of the people, in preservation of law and order and in defence of our hard-won peace and independence against disloyal, misguided and politically motivated armed hooligans and political malcontents whose final objective, according to information before me, is to create chaos and lawlessness so as to pave the way for the eventual fall of my government.

I cannot allow hooliganism and lawlessness to establish a reign of terror in this country. The war is over and peace and not violence, friendship and not hostility, reconciliation and not irreconciliation between individuals, communities, ethnic groups and political parties should characterize our new relations. All of us as a nation, all as communities, all as political parties, all as tribes, all as individuals should treasure our independence and peace. If some individuals or groups of individuals think that they have a monopoly to ruin that peace then they are up for a rude shock.

In accordance, therefore, with the immediate need to restore law and order in Bulawayo, my government has taken the following measures with immediate effect:

1. I have ordered the strengthening and reinforcement of the national army units and the police deployed in Bulawayo area, including the use of the air force;

2. I have ordered that certain emergency measures be imposed in the area, including a curfew;

3. I have instructed the commanders of ZIPRA and ZANLA to proceed to Bulawayo to work energetically to defuse the situation. I appeal to both ZIPRA and ZANLA to stop this disgraceful nonsence and join arms with us in consolidating our independence. I have also appealed to the leadership of ZAPU to act immediately in restraining their unruly supporters. Equally, I appeal to the ZANU leadership not to aggravate the situation by taking retaliatory measures, which will cause violence. Both parties have a duty to promote the difficult task of the police and the national army in restoring peace and law and order in the area. Let us all give the forces of law and order our fullest support in the performance of their duty.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS SPEAK AT BULAWAYO RALLIES

Finance Minister On Papers

LD101522 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 10 Nov 80 CA

[Text] A senior government minister has accused Zimbabwe's newspapers of wanting to promote civil war and warned they would soon be brought under government control, the SUNDAY MAIL newspaper reported yesterday. Finance minister, Mr Ernest Nkala, was quoted as saying that the country's two daily newspapers and the SUNDAY MAIL, published in Salisbury, were out of step with the needs of the people, who have been provoked beyond endurance by these imperialist and racist newspapers, Mr Nkala told a rally of the ruling ZANU-PF [Patriotic Front] party in Bulawayo at the weekend.

Deputy Education Minister

LD101518 Salisbury Domestic Service in English 0400 GMT 10 Nov 80 CA

[Text] The deputy minister of education and culture, Comrade Victoria Chitepo, says Zimbabwe is indivisible and all those who advocate a separate entity are following policies of the Pretoria regime. Comrade Chitepo was speaking at the rally in Bulawayo yesterday and stressed that Zimbabweans do not want their country to belong to two communities. She added: Zimbabwe is one country, we have one leader who was elected on a popular vote by the people, and we do not want to have two prime ministers.

FURTHER REPORTS ON FIGHTING IN BULAWAYO

LD101332 Salisbury Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 10 Nov 80 CA

[Text] Firing broke out again between rival former liberation forces in Bulawayo this morning at approximately 0530. A police spokesman says that the firing has been confined to camps housing the former combatants and that the police and the national army are keeping these areas contained. Our Bulawayo correspondent reports that a police spokesman has advised people not to travel into the city's local government areas or Mpilo Hospital. Those intending to go to Mpilo Hospital have been urged to telephone first before they proceed.

Statement on Cease-Fire

LD102108 Salisbury Domestic Service in English 2000 GMT 10 Nov 80 CA

[Text] Police have issued the following statement:

At approximately 5:10 pm today, a cease-fire was effective as a result of the combined negotiations of commanders of the national army, ZIPRA [Zimbabwe People's Liberation Army and ZANLA [Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army]. Police say thousands of people are returning to their homes in the western townships.

Curfew Details

LD111058 Salisbury Domestic Service in English 0400 GMT 11 Nov CA

[Text] A curfew affecting most of Bulawayo's western townships came into effect at 7:30 pm yesterday. The curfew will ensure that people in the area do not become involved in operations conducted by police or the national army against disturbing elements. The order states that no person shall be more than 50 meters from any house, hut or tent in the area affected between 7:30 pm and 5 am except with the written permission of the protective authorities. The area affected includes the townships of Luveve, Magwegne, Pumula, Njube, Npopoma, Mzilikazi, Makokoba and the surrounding areas. The curfew will remain in effect until further notice.

Shooting in Township

LD101837 Salisbury Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 10 Nov 80 CA

[Text] The sporadic sound of smallarms fire and mortar explosions in the Bulawayo local government area of Mtampane continues with no signs of abating. Police have sealed off the township, which is temporarily housing nearly 3,000 members of ZANLA [Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army] and ZIPRA [Zimbabwe People's Liberation Army] and they have urged people to stay clear of the area. The shooting broke out yesterday after supporters of ZAPU-PF [Patriotic Front] tried to disrupt a ZANU-PF rally addressed by eight ministers of the government at the Bulawayo white city stadium. A man was stoned to death in this incident and 34 others were wounded. No casualties have yet been reported from the shooting in Mtampane.

SALISBURY COUNCIL ABOLISHES WAGE DISCRIMINATION

LD071204 Salisbury Domestic Service in English 0400 GMT 7 Nov 80

[Excerpt] The Salisbury city council last night decided to put an end to salary scales based on color. Under the new job and salary evaluation scheme, Salisbury municipal workers will be paid the same salary for doing the same job and some workers will have their increased pay checks backdated to 1 July 1980. Councillor Timothy Stamps said that all appointments in the municipality would now be made on a nonracial basis.